The Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training Foreign Affairs Oral History Project

DAN ZACHARY

Interviewed by: Charles Stuart Kennedy

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Q: So, Dan, let's start with a look at your early life. Where were you born? And tell us something about your parents and grandparents.

ZACHARY: Nothing exceptional here. I was born in Chicago in 1923 into a blue-collar family. I was the second child - my sister, Virginia, was born in 1921. We lived in several locations in the city.

My father, Daniel P. Zachary, was an electrician with the Commonwealth Edison Company, the large mid-West utility corporation. He remained with that firm until retirement. My mother, Margaret Jonas, was a stay at home mom.

Both completed grammar school, eight grades, nothing further. My father could fix or repair just about anything, upholstery, build a garage or a room in the attic by himself with me as a tool or asbestos pad holder. He had his first car in his late teens or early twenties and could do major maintenance and repairs. When young he enjoyed hunting and fishing. My father could play several musical instruments and liked to sing, but he was not a particularly upbeat person. In mid-life he took up golf and bowling. Otherwise he had few interests and the only book I ever remember him reading was Gone With The Wind. He had a good wit but was not overly sociable.

My mother was a good cook and home maker. She enjoyed newspapers and occasionally a book. Her most striking quality was that everyone liked or loved her. She was a sweet woman, caring woman. In earlier years they entertained friends and relatives with some regularity. There was no cultural life, concerts or theater but they enjoyed cinema and were enthusiastic Cub fans.

All four of my grandparents were born "in the old country." My mother's father, Frank Jonas, was born in 1858 at Bingen am Rhein, where the seductive river goddess Lorelei came from. When his parents died in his teens he was cheated out of an inheritance, probably fled from an orphanage, and came to the US in 1874. His second wife, my grandmother, Bertha Kieselbach, was born near Koenigsberg, now Russian-held Kaliningrad in East Prussia, in 1857. She probably arrived in the 1880's. He had six, she three, children, the youngest of which was my mother.

My father's family came to the U.S. from the Austro-Hungarian Empire following a migration from the Duchy of Lorraine. The Empress Maria Theresa attracted German as well as French speaking Catholics from Lorraine, Alsace, Belgium and the Rhineland to repopulate lands decimated in struggles against the Turks. My forbears were from Lorraine close to Metz, France, and some were German and others were French speakers. These migrants were settled in the rich Banat region east of Belgrade about 1770. My grandparents reached the US in 1903 when my father was three.

The grandmothers were Hausfraus and both grandfathers were fancy iron workers in Chicago. I like to imagine that they may have had a hand in creating the attractive iron facade at the main entrance of the Carson Pires & Scott department store on State Street. My parents met through their fathers.

Q: How were religious values instilled?

ZACHARY: Three of my grandparents were raised as Catholics, as was my Father, but my mother's mother had Protestant roots from Prussia. The church I went to was a branch of Lutheranism. We were required to do two years of confirmation study and memorize considerable parts of the Bible. I still remember much of the Sermon on the Mount, the Nicene Creed, the Ten Commandments, etc. Several friends and I sang in the church choir in our teens.

Not long after I drifted away from the Church. In my mid-twenties however I became interested in Catholicism and attended masses and religious instruction classes in Boston and Cambridge. When I went to France at that time I spent a week in a Benedictine monastery. Although I considered conversion I never did. I have attended a Unitarian church for the past fifteen years and consider myself an agnostic and a firm believer in the golden rule.

Q: Are there some further thoughts on your childhood that you wish to share?

ZACHARY: Certainly. There was an occasional vacation at cabins in Michigan and Wisconsin. I was never more than 150 miles from home until I was eighteen. That plus the eye-opening hobby of stamp collecting probably whetted my appetite to see and learn more about the world.

During my early years we lived in the inner city and, at different times, with both my father's and mother's parents. These were working class neighborhoods, a bit on the rough side for a small boy. However, the most traumatic event then was the death of my eight-year old sister in 1929 of diphtheria, despite inoculation. Not long after, probably instigated by my mother, we moved to the extreme northwest corner of Chicago to neighborhoods named Norwood Park for a short while and then Edison Park. The nearby suburb of Park Ridge bordered us on the west and Niles to the north. Norwood and Edison Parks were a 1930 version of suburbia, albeit within the city limits. In 1935 my sister Jean was born. She and her three children now reside in North Carolina.

I prospered in the new neighborhoods. I applied myself some of the time and occasionally received good grades in school. My childhood sport was sandlot softball. The biggest impact however was joining the Boy Scouts at twelve. I found scouting exciting, worked hard at it, and became an Eagle at fourteen, the youngest member of the troop to earn the Eagle badge. I earned money for summer camp, became a patrol leader and led bird hikes at camp, requiring me to get up at ungodly hours.

Q: What other influences played a big role in your development?

ZACHARY: In addition to helping my parents I began to work outside the house. The depression was in full swing in the mid-1930's and having odd jobs was the natural thing to do. Beginning at age eleven or twelve I worked as a stocker and bagger at the Jewel Tea Company and sold newspapers at the main intersection of Edison Park. I worked four summers as a caddy, beginning at age twelve or thirteen, at a private golf club, Tam O'Shanter, starting at ninety cents for eighteen holes, which took three to four hours.

I received little guidance from my parents. I was never encouraged to read, I grew up just like Topsy. Peer approval and example were most important. The only teacher who stands out throughout my school years was a speech teacher who picked me to play a lead in a play in my senior year at high school. She made me feel special.

In my mid teens I kept active with scouting, school, odd jobs, softball, bowling. I engaged regularly in body building - weightlifting for about two years. At 17 I discovered a love of jazz that has stayed with me all of my life. It was at the famous Downbeat Room in the Chicago Loop that I heard Lionel Hampton play and I realized how much I felt and loved jazz. It still fills me with energy and optimism.

Q: Before we move on let's see if there are any more details of your early life you might want to cover.

ZACHARY: I mentioned stamp collecting starting at 11 and never having traveled more than 150 miles from home and wondering if I would ever see other places - New York, Europe, Mexico. At that time the Chicago Daily News had one of the best foreign service networks in the country. I remember the photos depicting the rape of Nanking and Hitler marching into the Rhineland. And photos from Abyssinia and Haile Selassie before the League of Nations. I found the wide world beyond Chicago totally fascinating.

Q: What did you do after graduating from high school?

ZACHARY: I graduated in June 1941. My high school record was unexceptional. I did have the lead in a play and I ran, unsuccessfully, for office in my senior year. I enjoyed speech class and some of the reading assignments in English but I finished in the third quarter in a class of 250.

The day after graduation I went to work for the Raymond Pulverizer Division of Combustion Engineering as an office boy, file clerk, messenger, switchboard operator and the boss's gopher. I earned twenty dollars a week and gave half to my parents.

Two remembrances stand out: listening intently to President Franklin Roosevelt's words on December 8, 1941, that December 7 was "a day that will live in infamy" in the large draftsmen's room with twenty or so bosses and employees. Another was the ribbing I frequently took from the draftsmen about my total inexperience in the ways of romance.

Six weeks after the Japanese attack four of us from Edison Park decided to go to California to work in one of the war plants. We drove two cars for a car dealer, paying only for the gas. A couple of miles outside of Artesia, New Mexico, my friend Al, a reckless driver, rolled over our car on a rainy day. I was thrown clear of the car and had only minor injuries. The car was 'totaled' but we managed to limp our way to L.A. A close call, but I guess I had good karma.

My first job was scraping blackout paint off the windows at the Los Angeles Airport for fifty cents an hour. Los Angeles was gripped with fear that Japanese forces were close and about to attack the city. I was almost hit by a car moving without highlights during the nightly blackout. I then found work at NBC Studios at Sunset and Vine in Hollywood where, wearing a navy blue uniform with white staff braid, I ushered people into the radio shows to watch live radio broadcasts. Shows such as the Bing Crosby show, a popular program at the time. Since there were always guest performers I saw many of the Hollywood stars up close; Lucille Ball, Betty Grable, Red Skelton, Clark Gable, Victor Borge, Edgar Bergen, etc.

While doing this I took a night course in riveting and sheet metal assembly and qualified for work at Lockheed Aircraft. With a partner we riveted the fuselage onto a frame behind the cockpit. It took four hours to complete one aircraft, an improved version of the Lockheed Hudson bomber called the Vega Ventura. They were, I believe, for the British. My pay on the swing shift was more than double that at NBC.

In August 1942 I hitchhiked back home and was accepted at Northwestern University. While in California a successful young radio comedy writer befriended me and helped me find work at NBC studios. When he urged me to return to Chicago and start college I thought of a junior college in the city. I didn't think my high school grades gave me a chance but he pressed me to apply at Northwestern University and I did successfully. I believe he had more impact on my future that any of my earlier teachers. Later, at Northwestern two history professors, Leland Carlson and Raymond Billington, gave outstanding lectures, the first on world and the second on American history. From then on I was hooked on history as a subject worthy of serious attention. After a few weeks I qualified for the Naval ROTC program at Northwestern. In July 1943 we were placed on active duty but continued our studies. I received a BS degree in History in February 1945.

Q: You continued in the Navy at that time?

ZACHARY: Yes, I was commissioned as an Ensign at graduation. I then received about four weeks training in tactical radar. I joined my ship, a destroyer escort, at Pearl Harbor and served as the ship's radar officer. Our ship provided anti-submarine escort for troop and cargo ships between Eniwetok in the Marshalls and Ulithi in the Marianas. This duty was largely uneventful although on a few occasions we dropped depth charges and probably killed a lot of fish. A sister ship in one convoy that we were part of sighted a periscope. I recall that we were on picket station near Eniwetok when we learned that a powerful 'atomic' bomb had been dropped on Japan.

The most interesting duty was when our ship and two other ships in the squadron took part in the Japanese surrender on Wake Island. The three ships took on board a Marine general, a language officer, port director, etc. Wake became famous in December 1941 when it beat off a Japanese attack for fifteen days. Before the end of 1942 Hollywood produced a good film about the Marine garrison's resistance.

At Wake I observed Japanese troops and defenses at close hand. We had a flag-raising ceremony with the Marine general officiating. The "Japs" were all lined up and the tallest sailors from the three ships served as our honor guard. I finished my naval service with a seven-month stint at Pearl Harbor.

Q: What did you do after your discharge from the Navy?

ZACHARY: I applied to the graduate school at Harvard and was accepted. I studied European History during that time from 1946 until April 1949 when I passed the oral exams for the Ph.D. The fields I offered were European intellectual history, Russian History, European medieval history and French and English history since the Renaissance. So I have an ABT degree, "All But Thesis."

I then left for France with the intent of writing my thesis on the role the French Catholic Church played during the resistance in World War II. I didn't get very far: instead I studied French intensively and then took a course in modern French literature at the Sorbonne. The year-long course, with a hundred-long book reading list, began with Verlaine and Mallarme right up to Camus and Sartre. I also began writing short stories and essays. But I was already thinking seriously about the Foreign Service. I remember walking into Embassy Paris on July 1, 1950. I informed the receptionist that I wanted to take the exam. She told me the application had to be submitted the day before, on June 30. A day late.

Q: I believe you were married in Paris?

ZACHARY: Yes, I was married in July, 1950 in Paris to Carol Wenzel from Denver. After graduating from the University of Colorado she came to Cambridge and worked in the Psychology Department at Harvard. We had dated a few times at Cambridge and we kept up a correspondence. Carol came to Paris in late 1949. We were married at the American Church in Paris the day after the French civil ceremony. She walked into the Embassy one day and was hired for work with the Marshall Plan in Paris.

Q: What happened between that time and your joining the Foreign Service?

ZACHARY: After six months we decided to return to the States. After a month or so we came to Washington. Carol was rehired by the US aid administration and I found work at the US Army Library in the Pentagon reviewing books and articles for an Army publication. In September 1951 I took the Foreign Service written exams. The same month I was hired by CIA. I spent two or three months in the "Pool" awaiting clearance. I then worked in the Biographic Section of the agency on the overt side. We wrote biographic sketches on important foreign leaders and developed files on them. This lasted until August 1952 when I began the A-100 Foreign Service orientation class.

After I mentioned several times my short stint with the CIA, I realized that some doubters were convinced that I was still connected with that agency. After that I avoided mentioning this - it made things much easier. I believe that all 32 members of the A-100 class were true-blue FSO's, not embedded CIA types, as is the case today.

Q: What was the exam like then?

ZACHARY: Back in the States I did submit my application on time and took the exam in one of those unsightly temporary buildings from WW I that despoiled the Mall.

The examination process then worked as follows: There was an annual written exam, the same as today except that it lasted for four days. There were essay questions on economics, history and American culture and the answers were written in long hand, no lap tops then. There was reading interpretation and vocabulary testing. Multiple choice questions such as matching great lovers, i.e., Anthony and Cleopatra and then lovers actress Rita Hayworth and the playboy Ali Kahn. There was an essay question about a US businessman wanting to exploit rubber plants in Asia but the natives attached religious significance to the trees. What do you advise the Department? The fourth day, I remember was optional; you could earn extra points by taking language tests. I tried my hand at both French and German.

I remember Saturday, December 8, 1951, I received a billet doux in a "US Department of State" envelope. I had passed! I remember that weekend particularly well because the next day, Sunday, December 9, my daughter, Pamela was born at Washington Hospital for Women near Foggy Bottom.

I might not have made the cut had I not received extra points for military service. But then, most of the guys in my class received the same bonus, some 30 out of 32.

Q: What do you recall of your oral exam?

ZACHARY: Because of the attacks on the Department by Senator Joseph McCarthy for Communist leanings and morals issues, State had cancelled the Foreign Service exams the previous year. Further, with the Korean War raging the need for new officers increased. I soon received notice to take the oral exam and did so in early May 1952. When my orientation class began on August 1 it was the first junior officer class in 20 months. So the whole process took less than twelve months and another class was underway six weeks after ours.

From notes I took the next day, there were five examiners for the exam, three FSO's (Minister Drew, Cochrane and Hicks) and an official from the Department of Agriculture. This was before the creation of the Foreign Agricultural Service and State had the responsibility for agricultural reporting. The fifth person was an executive from Westinghouse Electric.

I shook hands with all and the Chairman asked me about my background and also my wife's. Without a pause he asked the first question: "What are the Alabama Claims?" Piece of cake. When asked a question about Aaron Burr I said that he was a friend of Alexander Hamilton's but they later "became estranged." The questioner was silent for a second and then added, "He killed Alexander Hamilton." I knew that but...

The ash tray was placed a distance from me on a large conference table. I thought about it for a while and then got up, took it, and lit a cigarette.

There were questions about pending Foreign Service legislation about which I knew nothing. I was asked about the Arab question, Germany, and New York Times journalists. I think I did OK on most of these. And why the union between Norway and Sweden had been dissolved by Norway. I didn't know but the examiner, who had served in Norway, said that the Norwegians were upset because all diplomatic positions were held by Swedes.

I was asked if I drank too much. The man from Westinghouse asked me to tell a joke. I told one about a 'pushy' member of a minority that was well received as far as I could tell. Such a joke would now be most incorrect politically.

I returned to the reception area and thought about how many times I had said "I don't know." Then, after waiting a while the Chairman called me into his office and told me the good news. It felt wonderful. That night my wife and I celebrated at the Shorham Hotel at Connecticut and Calvert with another couple. The ever popular comedian Mark Russell was performing that evening. One routine was songs he had written that bombed, such as "Stop The Beguine," "Tea for Three," and "Hey there, you with your tie in your fly."

Q: What was your introduction into the Foreign Service?

ZACHARY: The Department already had at that time the three-month orientation course. It consisted essentially of a review of the Department's operations, including the activities of the Departments of Agriculture and Commerce. We learned how the Department operated. We traveled to New York to learn about Merchant Marine activities, to Beltsville, Maryland, to learn about agricultural issues. We also studied information and cultural issues since USIA did not exist then. Five in my class were assigned to USIA positions abroad. The course was a fairly thorough grounding on State operations and on substantive foreign policy issues.

I found the group by and large impressive, smart and not too academic. Ages ran from 21 to 30 with the average age 26. Six or seven were lawyers and a number, such as myself, had Master's degrees. I was already married but most were still single.

But we were 32 white men. A class begun six weeks after ours had two women. There were no minorities. Two groups in my class probably represented at that time a liberal broadening of the American diplomatic corps: First, there were six or seven of Jewish heritage. Second, a number of candidates were from west of the Alleghenies instead of being heavily loaded with Ivy League entrants. I remember the impressive, old establishment-sounding names of FSO's at the time, such as Outerbridge Horsey III, Reginald Bragonier and E.G. Trueblood. The service was changing, but slowly.

My A-100 class was not remarkable for producing any water walkers. We collected just four ambassadorships by three class members - all in sub-Saharan Africa. But we subsequently could lay claim, first, to a presidential candidate, John Anderson, and, second, to a convicted murderer. That definitely made us unique.

Q: So you felt you had a pretty good introduction to the Foreign Service?

ZACHARY: Yes, I thought it was a good orientation. The course was well managed. We enjoyed ourselves and learned a lot. I remember one book our instructor recommended for additional reading. It was William Beaulac's reminiscences of his Foreign Service career. He recounts efforts by our mission in Madrid, where he was a senior officer, I don't remember which slot he had, to prevent the pro-Fascist Franco regime from supplying quicksilver or mercury to the German war machine. The initiatives were successful and he speculated that this successful effort was equivalent to the contribution of two army divisions in defeating the German war effort.

But the incident in his memoir that impressed me the most was his recounting of a crisis in Havana of the 1930's. There were two political factions at sword's point, literally, disputing an election. They faced each other in the lobby of a Havana hotel with weapons ready to blaze away. Beaulac, as charge or ambassador, I don't remember which, arrived and immediately strode between the two groups. He then proceeded to calm the situation down and reach some kind of accommodation. What I took away from that encounter was that an FSO must be willing to disregard his own safety in pursuit of his country's interests. During my career I recalled Beaulac's action and was comfortable with the thought that what must be done must be done. Fortunately I never had to throw my body between two heavily armed adversaries.

Q: In your days, of course, people entered the Foreign Service as a career devoting the next thirty years to it.

ZACHARY: Very definitely. People joined for the long haul and many stayed for a full career. We did lose about five officers in the first year or so. There was a Harvard lawyer who wanted to go to one of the major posts in Latin America, Rio or BA. He was assigned to Paraguay, one of the real hardship posts in Latin America, and I believe his wife was in shock. They lasted about eight or nine months and now live in Mexico City. Otherwise, I noticed that the ones that did leave within a year or two had unhappy wives. I was with one such classmate at my first post in Munich. The wife of the officer was extremely unhappy about being overseas and away from her family. That seemed to be a major factor. They hadn't considered the wife's interests in a Foreign Service career.

Q: What was notable about your first tour, in Munich from 1952 to 1955?

ZACHARY: Upon completion of the A-100 course a number of us were assigned to West Germany, about eight in all. We were all sent to Bonn where our assignments were made to specific posts. Our mission operated at that time under a High Commissioner rather than an Ambassador. I was assigned to Munich, where the bulk of US forces were located, with two other class members. During our week of orientation in Bonn we met the already famous George Kennan and, the following week in Munich at a small reception at the Consul General's residence, we met distinguished author Thornton Wilder. It was an exciting introduction into the Foreign Service.

I did the standard first-tour consular duty, issued immigrant visas and visitors' visas, passports and notarials. I was a welfare and protection officer for much of the time. Because of Senator Joe McCarthy's witch hunt we lost a boss and I was in charge of the American interests section - passports, notarials, welfare and protection - for about six months. A nice job for a first-tour officer. Then I stayed in that section for more than a year. It was a very good introduction into the Foreign Service. Of course, Munich was a big consular operation. We had the major part of the U.S. forces in Europe in and around Munich. Lots of birth reports and marriages. Also the Refugee Relief Act started while I was there. What I did get in Munich was a very good tour-de-horizon in consular work.

Q: Did you get a feel for the rest of the Consulate's work? Did you get to know the Consul General?

ZACHARY: Yes. We were a fairly close knit group. I knew the political and economic officers well and we did have contact with the Consul General. I did learn what a consulate was like. I arrived in Munich in November 1952, the day after Eisenhower won the election. Munich still showed the effects of World War II: the famous Kriegsmuseum was badly damaged, but the three main towers were intact, a dramatic sight to see. Nearby, the famous museum, Pinakothek, was an American officers club, where we frequently went. American forces, bases, hospitals were much in evidence. But the city was also reviving; the famous Vierjahreszeit restaurant had been reopened under its famous chef, Walter Spiel, die Englishcher Garten and the most famous church, Der Alte Peter, with its onion dome were back in operation.

At first, I was put on the immigrant visa line. The tough McCarran Act had just become law. We processed eligible Germans, including many German women newly wed to GI's. I asked one slight, blonde German women of twenty or so if she knew what life would be like in the US married to a black man. She looked diffidently at me and replied "I love him." I never asked that question again. It was a delight to speak German much of the workday.

And one acquired some of his best Foreign Service stories from consular work. Like the time I called for Herr and Frau Schmidt for their immigrant visa interview. Mr. Schmidt appeared, looked at me, and then rushed directly into the ladies washroom opposite my office to find her. He wasn't going to miss his chance to get to the States, no way. Another time I asked an elderly woman to raise her right hand to begin her visa interview and she gave me a Nazi salute. Or the time a seventy-year old one-time American actress died. When we wired the next-of-kin for money the reply stated to look in her corset for $1000 she normally kept hidden. We checked and no luck, then we found a second corset. Still no luck. Then a third one was found in her effects containing not $1000 but $2200.

As I mentioned, much of my three-year tour in Munich was spent in the Passport Section doing, passport renewals and replacements, notarials, depositions and reports of birth. We dealt with a diverse assortment of refugees from Eastern Europe, American drifters, businessmen, counts, duchesses, etc. What with the large presence of US forces in Bavaria we were a section of three FSO's, two American secretaries and eight or nine FSN's. When doing reports of birth the sergeant or captain father of the infant would ask me if his son could become president given the fact he had not been born on US soil. I interpreted constitutional law for them by observing them that US citizenship is acquired by virtue of birth on US soil (jus terris) and also through American parents (jus sangus) and their little eight-pound joy, by virtue of jus sangus, was already an American. They of course were pleased with my interpretation and walked out of my office with smiles.

My time in Munich were marred by the stain of McCarthyism. John Foster Dulles soon took over as Secretary of State in 1953. He fought to save the nomination of Chip Bohlen as Ambassador to Moscow after Senator McCarthy launched a scurrilous attack against him. Bohlen was saved but Dulles said he would never again waste any more political capital defending another FSO. Not long after that the witch hunters, led by McCarthy, were after our Consul General, Charles Thayer. After graduating from West Point in the early 1930's Thayer went to Moscow on his own and began learning Russian. Many West Point graduates did not receive commissions then for budgetary reasons. Since he was an excellent horseman a Major George S. Patton offered to help him receive active duty orders if he would come to Fort Leavenworth and play polo on Patton's team! Thayer went to Moscow instead.

When FDR recognized the Soviet Union he was hired by the Embassy and, along with Kennan and Bohlen, became one of the top Soviet experts in the Service. He was an influential as liaison with the Soviet government and the Soviet Army during the war and wrote a hilarious book, Bears in the Caviar describing his experiences with the Soviets, such as teaching the Red Army polo.

The rumor was that Thayer had had an affair in Moscow with a ballerina during his bachelor days and, with McCarthyism rampant, he was pressured to resign. At his farewell party he uttered some bitter words about Senator Hickenlooper of Iowa. The Senator had been in Munich the previous year and accused the "left-wingers" in the Foreign Service of losing Czechoslovakia to the Communists. Thayer, a bit tipsy, said something that in Iowa you can hunt deer for six weeks in the Fall and pheasant for one month in October but that the open season on foreign service officers was twelve months a year. It was a bitter moment for a capable officer.

In 1953, Cohn and Schine, sidekicks of McCarthy, came to Munich. Their mission was to inspect USIS and the Amerika Haus libraries for subversive material and purge them of such authors as the likes of Jack London, John Steinbeck, Theodore Dreiser and other such 'left leaning' American authors.

In 1953 as well a top gun of Senator McCarthy came to Munich, Scottie McCloud. He had become head of State security with the new administration. He was a career FBI agent and close to McCarthy. We were required to attend a briefing by him where he used both honey and vinegar to get his message across. I raised my hand, stood up and asked whether they were finding any evidence of State personnel with Communist leanings and what proof did they have in making such accusations. I received a civil reply from McCloud but other officers at the post were impressed by the "provocative" question and congratulated me for asking it.

At this time, 1953 and 1954, several officers began receiving orders to return to Washington for "consultations" long before their scheduled end of tour. There were five such occasions that I remember. One was my boss, the head of the Passport, Welfare and Protection Section. We later learned that he resigned and never heard the full story. He was a devout Catholic and later married. It seems doubtful that he had any strong leftist leanings. His sudden departure allowed me to become chief of section for about six months until a new boss, an ex-FBI agent, arrived at the post.

Other events that made Munich a unique post were Fasching, the Bavarian Mardi Gras celebrations, the Oktoberfest and the Hofbrauhaus; the 'foen' - a sudden, sharp rise in temperature during the winter months which our fine German employees found enervating and took sick leave. There was also a visit to the nearby, notorious concentration camp of Dachau, trips to Vienna, learning to ski in the Alps and the lovely Bavarian countryside.

One trip to give some speeches on US policy took me to Passau and Hof am Saale right at the Iron Curtain. On the Communist side were watch towers, areas cleared of woodlands, barbed wire fences, a town cut in two by the Iron Curtain. There one could read a sign directed westward in German that said "We are protecting our workers and farmers from spies, saboteurs and traitors in order to build a strong socialistic society."

Q: In 1955, you went to Copenhagen, were you stayed until 1957. What were your duties there?

ZACHARY: I was an economic officer and also did some commercial work. At that point we were trying to get the Danes interested in the American market. European nations, such as Denmark, were still recovering from the dislocation of the war. I gave speeches around the country telling the Danes how to enter the American market. I did general economic reporting. A large part of my job was on East-West trade (COCOM work). The Danes were somewhat reluctant participants in COCOM. They took a more liberal view of what should be provided the Russians than we did. That part of the work was quite interesting.

Q: How did you as a junior officer relate to the Danes on the COCOM issues?

ZACHARY: The decisions on those issues were made in COCOM in Paris. Our job was to provide information on what was going on, keep in contact with the Trade and Foreign Office people and make demarches. My boss was usually the one to go to the Danish Government offices to make the demarches. He would take me along and I would do write the memoranda of those meetings. We would explain our positions and, at that time, we were usually successful. The Danes were not happy, but generally went along with our decisions which were based on very strict interpretations of COCOM regulations. The Danes wanted to build some dry cargo boats but we thought that this would be unwise because it would allow Soviet shipyards to build more combatant vessels. It would also provide the Soviets with a product superior to what they could build themselves. Then there were questions on illegal diversions on Danish ships or illegal transshipments through Copenhagen.

Q: Did you have a network of informants to let you know about these diversions?

ZACHARY: No informants. CIA wasn't much help. They claimed to have more urgent priorities than diversion cases. We did have our normal contacts in the shipping industry, in commerce and in the Foreign and Commerce Ministries. We would approach them for information. We did obtain useful information through our normal contacts and the press.

Q: When did you go to Stanford?

ZACHARY: I went to Stanford after Copenhagen. I had enjoyed the economic reporting and I thought I would like economics. At that point, FSI received its first massive amount of money. Congress had decided that there was a need for an expanded Foreign Service Institute. I was assigned to Arabic language training in Beirut for two years. Somehow the idea of going to school for two years did not appeal to me at that point. My DCM, Fritz Jandrey, said: "They have got you. They have top priority on all personnel for studies under this major expansion. What would you rather do?" I told him I preferred economics and that is how I ended up in Stanford for a year.

Q: Did you find the Stanford training helpful in later years?

ZACHARY: Definitely. It gave me a framework for economics work. It was down-to-earth, basic economics, not econometrics. It was straight micro- and macroeconomics and international trade, and was very useful.

Q: After Stanford, you were assigned to the Secretariat from 1958 to 1960. What were your responsibilities?

ZACHARY: For over a year, I was the editor of the "Morning Summary." We would summarize for the Secretary the most important cables received from embassies around the world. It had to be on Secretary Dulles' desk at 8 a.m. every morning. As editor, I would arrive at the office about one-thirty or two in the morning and read all the substantive cables. Then I would pick what I considered the most important ones and would provide the Secretary a document of about five single-spaced pages. It would include about ten items. Some ran as much as one page in length, if they were particularly interesting. At about three o'clock, two junior officers would come in and actually write the summaries of the cables I had selected. I would then edit their work and about five a.m., a typist would come in. We also assembled a book with cables and other messages that had come in, for example, a special appeal from a Senator which deserved the Secretary's immediate attention. But the key piece was the "Morning Summary." At that point, I don't think other agencies were as involved in providing the White House with that kind of information. The "Morning Summary" did go to the White House and the Vice-President. We then worked until eleven or twelve o'clock watching for UPI ticker items and listening to the radio to see whether there was any breaking news of interest.

Q: Did the Secretary have some particular area of interest that you knew about and were therefore careful to include cables on this subject in the "Morning Summary"? Or was it essentially summaries of things that would be reported in the international media?

ZACHARY: Both. The Secretary was involved with NATO problems and the crisis in Quemoy and Matsu, islands off Taiwan. The Department was very much involved in those problems as was the press. They required continual and immediate attention and were usually the first or second article in the summary. Beyond the very hot items, one could pick whatever he wanted. I enjoyed picking out things. Once I thought there was a good think-piece on Arab attitudes toward Israel and the U.S. It came from Aden, a small post. I put it as the first story because it was well-written. It dealt with the Arab world as a whole, but I was criticized for the selection. Had I put it at the end, it probably would not have drawn any fire.

I also remember our endless summarizing of traffic on the Cyprus issue. Some kind of arrangement would be worked out with the Turkish Cypriots, the Greek Cypriots, Ankara, Athens and London and then the whole thing would fall apart again. Back to the drawing boards. It was a frustrating process. But then it dawned on me that while this was going on there were no large-scale hostilities during these periods and eventually some accommodation was arranged. I came to appreciate how frustratingly slow the wheels of diplomacy turned. But my next thought was, 'So what?' During this time violence and death were minimal. And I realized how decidedly more preferable that was to military action or sectarian mayhem. For me the never ending Cyprus negotiations pointed up the virtue of patient and brought to mind Talleyrand's advice: "Surtout pas trop de zele."

Q: Did you complete your daily task and would then sit back to see what the New York Times or the Washington Post carried? Did you feel let down if they didn't carry the same leads as you did?

ZACHARY: Sometimes. I worried more about my boss' reaction, particularly about typing errors. They were obsessed with typos. Sometimes, I would go for two weeks without a typo. I learned how to proofread. They were upset if there were such errors. If you made three, the boss would haul you in and talk things over with you. If you found that the Times or the Post featured a story that you had not included in the summary, you would wonder whether you had made the right choice. But that didn't happen too often.

Q: Someone has told me that the Secretariat concentrated on the size of the margin on memoranda and on typos, even though there were senior officers who didn't care about that. They just wanted to have the information. Why is the Secretariat so particular on format? Is this endemic to the Foreign Service?

ZACHARY: I think the Foreign Service tends to worry about that a lot, perhaps a bit too much. I tend to be less concerned about what it looks like: the important thing is what it says. The last nine months of my service in the Secretariat were spent on the "line," as it was called. There you shoveled memoranda from the bureaus to the Secretary and the Deputy Secretary. There as well was great insistence on accuracy and on an attractive-looking memoranda. The paper had to be "just right." The Secretary may not care. It is the head of the Secretariat, the people in his immediate office or the number one assistant to the Secretary, who was Jerry Green in my days, who got all aflutter. It made them look sloppy if things weren't exactly right. We would catch hell, of course, because they were responsible to insure the document's accuracy and appearance. At the same time, we had to look at the substance as well and return the document to the bureau if there were problems.

Q: Your main area of concentration during your career was Greece. How did you end up in that area of specialization?

ZACHARY: In the mid-1950's the Department realized it had to do more to improve the language and area skills of the officer corps. The goal was to require every officer to learn a 'hard' language. This was inspired by the Wriston Reforms of the mid-1950's. Since my academic background was history, especially European history, the Mediterranean area appealed to me. I had never been to Greece and had no Greek ancestry. The only Greeks I knew growing up was the owner the only hamburger eatery in Edison Park and one of his daughters was a grammar school classmate. The idea of serving in Greece appealed to me.

Q: Describe your FSI experience studying Greek.

ZACHARY: It was a pleasant experience. The instructors, Takis and Aliki Sapountzis, were terrific motivators and maintained a pleasant atmosphere. I remember commuting every morning with Walter Jenkins who was studying Polish. He dreaded going in and suffered mightily. We did a lot of memory work in Greek class and Takis and Aliki always gave the impression that we were progressing at a rapid pace. Once, early on, after I gave a seven or eight-minute presentation of Napoleon's victory at Austerlitz. I was aware that he enjoyed military history. After I finished he slammed a book on the table and said loudly, "Never after seven weeks have I heard such fluent Greek!" Yes, he was a good motivator rather than one to deliver an honest critique.

On Wednesday afternoons we'd go over to INR and spend some hours with Charlie Lagoudakis, the Greek analyst at INR. At that time many of the analysts had been born in their country of specialization. They were both pleasant and knowledgeable and were respected by the desk officers. Charlie would give us work assignments involving policy issues from classified messages. I analyzed the complicated Greek election laws that produced two large parties in parliament rather than a host of smaller ones. That exercise was useful later when I did political reporting. He showed us traffic dealing with Ambassador Briggs' campaign to reduce the size of the Embassy staff. The Army attachï¿½'s staff alone had 25 persons and that did not include the other services or the US military aid mission. I believe that his efforts pretty much came to naught.

Q: Greek is one of our mother languages and we have many grammatical forms from it. Is it really a hard language?

ZACHARY: Yes. Let me explain. A language as old as Greek has several versions. The legal Greek today resembles ancient Greek. Then there is, for example, the demotic form, the Greek of fishermen and peasants who were cut off from their culture during Ottoman rule. With independence in 1832 Greek scholars in Paris introduced katherevousa, a cleaned up form of ancient Greek which the uneducated Greeks had and still have great trouble with. To speak katherevousa well you really needed a high school education which many Greeks did not have until recently. In 1976 Prime Minister Karamanlis won agreement to make kathomilomeni (the 'mixed' pure language and also called 'official demotic') the accepted language. It is a mixture of the various forms which an educated Greek speaks easily and is understood by almost all Greeks. So it has been simplified but still remains many layered.

To answer your question we had to learn two and sometimes three forms of verbs, adjectives and nouns. With so many declensions it resembles German but German has only one version for each form of speech.

Q: After completing ten months of language training were you then assigned to Greece?

ZACHARY: Yes I was assigned to the Economic Section in Athens. It was a combined Economic Section/AID section and the chief at that time was from AID. There were still a number of residual AID matters because we had not wrapped up details from the massive aid programs that began with the Marshall Plan to Greece in 1947. I did general economic reporting. We were determined to keep Greece in the win column in those Cold War days. We had helped the Greeks defeat Communist forces in the 1946-1949 civil war. We then followed it up with massive economic aid. When I arrived in 1961 Greece was in a period of rapid development and the term "Greek economic miracle" was being tossed around. Regarding my Greek training, I found my Greek quite useful in dealing with Greek officials, socially and on field trips.

My job involved following industrial progress and efforts to make Greece an associate member of the Common Market, which soon happened. We pushed the Greeks to develop their tourist industry, there were precious few hotels anywhere in Greece except Athens. We spent a lot of time dealing with American firms interested in establishing operations in Greece. It was a happy time for the Greek economy with monetary stability, rapid growth of industry and infrastructure. The Greeks, with considerable help and encouragement from us, were on a roll. The "Greek miracle" was underway.

Q: Are there any occurrences that stand out in your memory?

ZACHARY: Yes. A week after arriving in Athens the DCM, Tapley Bennett, dropped by my office and with his southern drawl, said something like, "Dan, since you speak Greek so fluently (sic) I want you to be the Embassy observer at a murder trial." The real reason was that the Consular Section was depleted that summer due to transfers and home leave.

For me, however, it was a fascinating introduction into the Greek world. Roger Ranney, a twenty something drifter from Texas and other places, was accused of murdering two Greek seamen. He had gone on a three or four boat-day trip and the two Greeks were never seen again. There were no weapons, no bodies, no convincing motives. He was nevertheless convicted and given the double death penalty. The courtroom scene had wailing older Greek women all in black, hysterical attorneys nose to nose with the prosecutor and criminal law very different from our own.

I was involved in this case for a number of years, visiting Ranney in prison at a nearby island a number of times. A year after the trial we played an important role in having the death penalty commuted to life. During my second tour to Athens during the Junta years, 1969-1973, Stu, you will recall, that you and I pushed to gain Ranney's pardon. The colonels were trying to 'make nice' to us. Ambassador Tasca reluctantly consented (he didn't want to press the Greeks on such a minor issue) and you, Stu, and I made a call on the Minister of Justice and others. Some recommendations were made to carry out the pardon but it was ultimately denied. I always felt that Ranney would not have been convicted in a US court for lack of evidence. I believe he died in a Greek prison while in his fifties.

Q: How long did you remain in the Economic Section in Athens?

ZACHARY: Not very long, just a little over one year. The position of political officer and deputy principal officer opened up in Thessaloniki and I was assigned there in the Fall of 1962. I couldn't have been happier: it was a very good job in a medium-sized consulate general, with nine or ten official Americans and thirty or so FSNs. It was a city I found attractive and bristling with energy and also crammed with history, i.e., Philip and Alexander, the second city of Byzantium, a long Ottoman period, a very important city for the Jewish world and now the second city of Greece with well over a million inhabitants.

I enjoyed dealing with local officials, nomarchs (prefects), the cultural and intellectual elite, visiting Turkish areas left in place in Greek Thrace after the population exchanges of the 1920's as well as the Slav speakers in Western Macedonia. And we could use our Greek much more than in Athens.

We reported fully on the events that produced a major shift in Greek political power starting in 1963. After almost two decades of conservative governments, belt-tightening policies, the 1946-1949 civil war with political prisoners still under detention, the Greeks were eager for more openness and for more of the good life. At that time constituent posts could report independently to Washington by-passing the Embassy. Then, at a Thessaloniki street corner, an independent leftist deputy, Lambrakis, was run down and killed by right-wing goons connected with the Greek intelligence services. Everyone immediately assumed it was the work of the government. This attack started a shift against the Karamanlis government. The French movie "Z" by Costa Gavras and starring Yves Montand was based on this incident.

Q: The importance of constituent posts is largely played down and a huge number of consulates that existed when we joined the Foreign Service no longer exist. What was the importance of Thessaloniki at that time?

ZACHARY: Well, we still had the Cold War going on. We were less than ninety minutes from the Iron Curtain, Bulgaria, and a couple of hours from Tito's Yugoslavia and bordering as well on Albania, an ally of the Chinese Communists at the time. We had four units of the US Army attached to Greek artillery units able to deny Soviet entry into Greece with nuclear weapons.

We also supported two institutions that spread an enormous amount of good will toward the US. They are Anatolia College and the American Farm School, both founded over a century ago by American missionaries. We used what clout we had to keep the GOG from restricting the efforts of these two schools to move Greek education forward. This required convincing the ambassador of the need to intercede when necessary to keep the government from restricting the schools' legal status and forward looking curriculum.

Further, at the time American firms began setting up operations in Thessaloniki; Chrysler, Esso-Pappas (now EXXON-Mobil), Ethyl, Goodrich and others. Chrysler, for example started to develop and produce a new jeep-type vehicle. Esso-Pappas began a huge refinery complex during those years. And as I mentioned we did some very good reporting about developments in the north. At that time, northern Greece had a larger share of US private investment than Attica. In later years during the fighting in Kosovo, Bosnia and the breakup of Albania, the post continued to play a big role and it continues to do so.

Q: Do I hear a plus for constituent posts?

ZACHARY: Indeed, you do. I believe that cutting out an officer or two from a swollen Embassy political or economic section would be a better way to make economies.

Q: What was the situation in Greece during the period from 1961 to 1965?

ZACHARY: These were the last years of Karamanlis, the conservative party leader, for a decade. One most interesting things that happened to me during my year in Athens was meeting Andreas Papandreou. One of my Stanford professors during my 1957-1958 training assignment had been a colleague of his and was spending a year in Athens at the new economic research center. He invited me to have dinner with Papandreou with our wives. So there were just six of us. Five days before the dinner there had been elections - October 1961. Papandreou's father, George, accused the government of "Via ke Nothia" (violence and fraud), that is, of stuffing the ballot boxes and worse. Indeed there had been more than the usual hanky-panky and CIA was justly attacked for having been involved. George rode to victory two years later on this slogan, "violence and fraud." So five days after the elections that George might have won, we attended this dinner. We discussed economics for twenty to thirty minutes before dinner, while the ladies were talking to each other. At the dinner table, Andreas started to talk about the elections. Although he had been brought back to Greece by no less than the conservative Prime Minister Karamanlis himself to set up the country's first economic research center after twenty years in the United States, he quickly became absorbed in Greek politics and was already a completely political animal. Of course, his father was the leader of the opposition party at that time. It was clear that his heart was in politics and not in economics. He discoursed for three or four hours until midnight mostly holding forth about the violence, the fraud that had been perpetuated. It was fascinating. I thought that this man was incredibly powerful and passionate but also a fanatic or zealot. He was convincing. He was speaking on behalf of democracy or so it seemed. Not that I was converted by any means, but it was an eye opening experience to be with such a political animal.

Q: Did you get a feel for his attitude toward the United States?

ZACHARY: I don't think he harbored any hatred of the U.S. but he accused us of dominating Greek political life, a theme that he developed further later on. He blamed the CIA particularly. We had more or less perverted Greek history by not allowing democratic forces to develop freely, starting with the civil war and followed by the periods during which the right undemocratically dominated the Greek political scene. There was, for example, Ambassador Puerifoy in the early 1950's who vigorously played the role of American proconsul. He kind of muffled his attacks on the U.S that evening, but he made it clear that the U.S. was a partner to this fraud. It may have been that he hadn't reached the point to make an outright attack on the U.S.

Q: What was his attitude towards the extreme left - the Communists who were illegal at that time?

ZACHARY: He did not seem particularly sympathetic toward them at that point He still uses the Communists as a whipping boy, but certainly he is not all that critical of them. His father was kind of a traditional bourgeois politician who was left of center in the political spectrum.. His party was called "Liberal" and became the "Center Union" made up mainly of middle-class - the same kind of people who were in the Conservative party, but with a slightly different view of the system and of democracy. You could compare George's party with our Democratic Party while Andreas' party is a socialist one. But in 1961, he pretty much stayed in line politically with his father's center-liberal thinking. No one really defended or supported the Communists in those days. One had no reason to be too concerned since it traditionally won no more than ten to twelve percent of the votes. These people were members of a crypto-communist party, EDA, since Communists did not become a legal party until 1974 or 1975.

Q: You were in the Embassy during 1961-1962 when Ellis Briggs was Ambassador. How did he run the Embassy? What was his view of the Greek political scene?

ZACHARY: He was an old fashioned autocrat and rather gruff, blunta very senior diplomat and very sure of himself. He found the Greeks a little hard to stomach with their total changeability and unsteadiness of course. They were constantly changing positions when you were dealing with them. I don't remember all that much of the Ambassador's relations with the Greeks. We at that time felt that we should do our best to keep Greece on the conservative track. We tacitly supported the Conservative Party. Karamanlis was our man. King Paul had picked him from the middle level of the conservative party rather than offer the position to one of the older party leaders. He first became Prime Minister in the early 1950s, and we felt that he was a good choice. A change in leadership could result, we felt, in Greece returning to a squabbling coalition-type politics with a much weaker central government. We were in control in the late 1940s and early 1950s because of the civil war - General Van Fleet was directing military operations. Then we gave massive economic aid. We were so concerned with incompetence in the Greek ministries that we put our own people in them. We literally ran the ministries to a great extent whenever it involved our funds. In 1961, we were just getting out of this frame of mind - the pro-consular role - that had governed our thinking well into the 1950s. I think this attitude still prevailed somewhat when I was there. Karamanlis, however, was getting more and more independent minded. He kept us at bay, but he was making basically good decisions as far as we could see. We had a shocker in 1958 when the leftists received the second largest vote. In Greece, the first and second parties in an election receive extra vote distribution based on their support. The center parties had split apart and the crypto-communists, the EDA, received the second highest vote total. They ended up with 25 percent of the seats in Parliament. This created great concern.

Q: There are countries that are known from the American point of view as "AID countries" where aid has predominance in contrast to others where everything revolves around the American military presence. Some countries are known as "CIA countries" where CIA has an inordinate influence within the host government - not necessarily covert influence, but just the right contacts. Greece was one of those countries. Was that your impression when you were there in the early 1960s?

ZACHARY: Yes, that was certainly the feeling that I and other Foreign Service officers had, although in the late forties and early fifties, AID officials wielded considerable influence. Certainly the military was influential as well as State since we were so involved in high-level dealings with the Government. But CIA seemed to run away with the prize, at least at that time. They had the contacts and they were involved in the organization of the Greek intelligence services. Generally, they used a lot of Greek-Americans who developed life-long relationships with some of the Greek officials. They were involved in manipulating elections. It is no secret that they tried to bring about a major change in the leadership of the labor unions. Before that, there was a communist labor movement and a non-communist one. They supported a third candidate, but ultimately the results were a three-way split. We had the feeling that the CIA did have clout with a large staff and funds to match.

Q: How about the American military presence which has been a bone of contention?

ZACHARY: The bases were not a bone of contention in the early 1960s. We had a large presence in Greece and later we added an important new naval communication facility at near Athens. It seemed to me therefore that although we had this large presence - the four large bases plus five small units in Northern Greece and a number of communication sites in Western Greece - we were doing a lot of training in support of the Greek military and therefore had their enthusiastic support for our efforts to modernize Greek forces. Greece was concerned about Bulgaria and, later, about Turkey. The Greek military very much appreciated the large amount of training and equipment. The conservative governments of course supported a strong Greek military and NATO. Greece was a small power and could think of no better protector than the United States. The Greeks have maintained a pro-American attitude longer than most countries, many of which have gotten sick of us and our presence. They still felt that we were very much needed for their own well-being. They had a very positive attitude towards our presence.

Q: When you transferred to Thessaloniki as the number two man, who was the Consul General?

ZACHARY: That was Robert Folsom, who had been Chargï¿½ in Haiti and had a number of other Foreign Service assignments. He was not Greek specialist. He didn't know any Greek and had no experience in the area but he was an experienced officer, quite OK.

During his tour Bob Folsom had the name of the city in the Department's official listings changed from 'Salonika' to 'Thessaloniki'. Under the Turks the name had become 'Salonika' reportedly because the Turks had difficulty pronouncing the 'th' sound, like the French. So it was put back to its original pronunciation. That happened before I arrived in the city or I would have pushed for 'Thessalonica.' The King James version of the Bible has it that way and it trips more lightly off the tongue whereas 'Thessaloniki' requires more contortion of an English speaker's mouth and face.

The Greeks like the restoration of the name to its original version because it carries with it considerable historical significance. The name derives from Philip It's defeat of the Athenian alliance. With that victory Greece became united for the first time. The battle took place at Chaeronea in 338 BC in the province of Thessaly, located south of Macedonia. The word for victory in Greek is 'niki' as in Nike missiles or shoes. It thus means victory in Thessaly. When a messenger arrived at Chaeronea from Philip's court that the Queen had given birth to a daughter he named her 'Thessaloniki'. Fast forward now two decades when the Macedonians decided to relocate the capital from Pella which was no longer accessible to the Aegean. The new location with excellent north-south and east-west passage was at the mouth of the Thermaic Gulf. A certain General Cassander was chosen to build a new royal city in 316 or 315 BC. He decided to name the new city after his wife, none other than Thessaloniki.

That tidbit doesn't have much to do with my Foreign Service career but it happens to be one of my favorite bits of trivia. Besides, if I had been at the post when the name was changed I would have argued for the King James version. We don't really need to pronounce it exactly as the Greeks. Think of Firenze, Munchen, Kobenhavn, etc. And think I would have been spared thousands of facial contortions as well.

Q: What were our interests in Thessaloniki?

ZACHARY: We followed a few special issues such as sensitive border issues with Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Albania. Also, the Yugoslavs had rights in the port of Thessaloniki for the transport of cargoes and a large consulate. The border was quite close - an hour and half by car to Bulgaria and about two to the Yugoslav border. We had an American Protestant supported religious sect in Katerini that had problems in orthodox Greece. We had the major Turkish ethnic group in area - in Western Thrace - kept there under the 1923 Lausanne treaty. One hundred and twenty thousand Greeks were allowed to stay in Istanbul as the result of the Greek-Turkish war of the 1920's. Most of these started clearing out after the 1956 riots in Istanbul when most of the 55 or so orthodox churches were destroyed or badly damaged. Today about 120,000 Turks and Islamic Pomachs still reside in northern Greece.

It was always my feeling that in time of crisis, the Consulate was able to obtain information more readily and successfully than the Embassy in Athens. This was for several reasons: the winds of controversy blow so vigorously in Athens that it is hard to sort out the trends. In Thessaloniki, you tend to get ground-swells indicating basic changes in mood. We did call the elections of 1963 and 1964 when Karamanlis was defeated for the first time in seven years and when George Papandreou was elected. We felt that there was a massive shift underway, but the Embassy didn't see it. You see things more clearly in the country-side, you feel the ground-swells.

In the Junta years (1967-74), people like Walter Silva were able to produce fine reports because people in Thessaloniki would talk and open up to us, even though they knew that police were everywhere. Nevertheless, they couldn't resist giving us their views. In Athens, the control was much tighter. In 1981, when PASOK came in, Papandreou gave orders at one point not to talk to Embassy or Consulate people. The Embassy people had trouble with this, but the people in the North tended to disregard Papandreou's directive and talked to us anyhow.

Q: If you called the elections right from a constituent post, how was this received in the embassy?

ZACHARY: Great consternation! It was nice for me. Ambassador Labouisse offered me a job in Athens. He was pleased that at least the Consulate had called it right. He took the big view. The people at the working level were not so delighted. We could see it clearly in Thessaloniki by talking to a variety of people of all political stripes. Even the conservatives admitted that they were losing ground. Then there the rallies down the street from the Consulate. It just seemed clear that there was a major change taking place.

Q: Let me pursue that process a little bit more. How as a political officer in Thessaloniki do you get information that you put together for a report?

ZACHARY: You simply call on your contacts. You do your traditional morning press readings - we spent a half hour reviewing the newspapers - and then would ask our senior local employees for their interpretation of the stories. Maybe there would be a couple of deputies from Athens in town and we would call on them. People were eager to give us their views. Practically no one would turn you down. We would first select the subject we wanted to explore in depth and then we would talk to people about that. If the Consul General was going to lunch with the Mayor, for example, we would ask him to raise the subject we were interested in. I would try to see other officers in the consular corps. And I'd keep in close touch with the PAO and an excellent local USIS employee, who was well plugged in. In those days, we had great local employees. With Greeks I knew quite well, I would just call on the phone. We would keep checking it out to make sure that the various pieces fit and that the rough spots were smoothed, that you had the story right and were not fooling yourself.

Q: Did you ever encounter any Greek who would refuse to talk to an American?

ZACHARY: Not many. They enjoyed talking. They were overjoyed that they would be listened to. It is part of the Mediterranean temperament. They simply enjoy communicating, spending the evening out with friends. They can't keep secrets. It is an open, garrulous society. They have the dubious honor of reading fewer books per capita than any other country in the European Community. And members of the left-wing party also would freely express their views. The most close mouthed group that I found over the years were the military. A lot of subjects were tied to the military such as Bulgarian activities and the Turkish threat. Whenever we wanted information that the Greek government preferred to keep to itself, the military was pretty up-tight about it and did not reveal much. It was very hard - even from those you knew for a long time - to get information. Yes, there were exceptions. But there was one general in charge of Third Army or C Corps, an extremely charming man, who would talk and openly give his views. He was a competent and confident officer. He went on to greater things.

Q: You were in Thessaloniki when JFK was assassinated. Do you have any special recollection?

ZACHARY: Indeed, I do. I assume most FSO's abroad that day have some special memory of that awful day. My wife and I were entertaining that evening at our residence. As I remember we had an MP who later became Deputy Minister of Defense, a professor or two, the head of the Chamber of Commerce, a consular colleague and the Lansdales from the American Farm School.

We were about to sit down at 9:00 pm when the Embassy called and informed me of the tragic event. We were all stunned and the Greeks felt they should leave immediately. I replied that I would be grateful if they stayed for at least a while. They all did, we had dinner, but shortly after leaving the table they, out of respect, departed.

The Greeks, for days, exhibited grief. Many came to the Consulate to sign the book of condolences and quite a few wished to express their sympathies directly to the Consul General or me. I was surprised by the number of members of the left-wing party who called. A solemn memorial service, with a mock sepulcher was conducted by the Metropolitan and attended by the Nomarch, the Mayor, deputies and other leading military and civilian officials.

This reaction contrasted sharply two month later with another death. One morning I turned on the radio, heard a fugue, and learned that the Greek King, Paul, died somewhat unexpectedly at age 61 of lung cancer. Once, in a public appearance, he held up a cigarette and asked, 'Who is the stronger, me or this little thing?' He then pointed to the cigarette as the stronger. King Paul was well liked, (although his wife, Queen Frederica, and the monarchy in principle were not) and he played his royal role effortlessly and according to the rules. It so happened that my wife and I were invited to dinner that evening by a university professor. Later that morning I decided to call the professor, offer my condolences, and confirm that his dinner had been cancelled. "Why," he asked. "Because of King Paul's death." "Oh, yes," he said, "but that is no reason to cancel the party." And the dinner was held.

I had some trouble reconciling the profound reaction to JFK's death with the casual attitude toward the head of state. Ah, the Greeks, live and learn.

Q: You mentioned Ambassador Labouisse. How do you rate his tenure in Athens?

ZACHARY: He was a real pro with a distinguished record. At one point he was the head of AID and also had been the UN Commissioner in the Gaza Strip. He was not afraid to delegate and I believe everyone liked and respected him. His wife was a talented but difficult person. The youngest daughter of the famous Madame Curie she wrote a Pulitzer prize biography of her mother. She also was a war correspondent in France during the second war. She was quick to be critical and seemed to feel that she had to cover from her more kindly spouse. When we were traveling in eastern Macedonia and Thrace she was upset with me that I didn't mention that there was a tobacco institute in the town of Drama. She proceeded to put me in the follow car and invited our senior Consulate local to ride with them. She had trip notes taken fifteen years earlier during the civil war while traveling with the Greek queen, Frederica. One morning at Uranopolis at the border with Mount Athos we all went to the beach on a lovely day. She dove in and swam for some time before the Ambassador started to go in. He got to his knees before he gave up because of the cold - it was early April. The Political Counselor then tried and with the same result. I decided to salvage male honor and went in all the way for a couple of minutes but, boy, it sure was cold. But that didn't seem to phase her one bit. Since she spent her early life in France I can only say, "Quelle femme!"

Q: You also had assignments in Africa, i.e., Ethiopia, Congo, called Zaire at the time, and, later, the Department's African Bureau. Did you feel any cultural shock when you arrived in Addis Ababa?

ZACHARY: Yes, indeed. After home leave in September 1965 I arrived in Addis Ababa with my wife, Carol, my thirteen-year old daughter, Pam, and nine-month-old son, Tiger. While on home leave I took a two-week FSI orientation course on Africa. I found it quite useful. One little test was to take a map of Africa and write the names of the countries, the capitals and leaders' names of all the states. In less than a decade the names of a substantial number of the countries and capitals had changed as these newly independent countries moved away from their colonial past.

We were met at the airport by Don Wolfe, the Economic Counselor, and we proceeded to the city. As for cultural shock, during the forty-minute trip I felt that we were stepping back into biblical times. Not only the women but the men as well were wearing long white robes. Many were holding a four foot walking stick with a small cross piece below the grip. It represented the holy cross in this Coptic Christian land. It was had to believe that such scenes still occurred outside of a Cecil B. DeMille movie.

On the trip from the airport we also saw a number of spider men, permanently deformed individuals due to primitive medical practices. And one would pass lepers and children with bloated stomachs as well. Here was a very different world and a desperately poor country with reportedly the lowest rate of literacy in Africa, over 90 percent. We drove past Sadat Kilo Circle and saw the Emperor's lions in a large cage in the middle of the circle. We then drove to our house at Sidist Kilo Circle where a watchman and a huge turtle were waiting to greet us. The turtle and the guards stayed with us for the entire tour. Yes, indeed, I was beginning to feel some cultural shock.

Q: You said that Addis Ababa appeared desperately poor. Did that have something to do with the fact that it was the only independent sub-Saharan country until Mussolini invaded it?

ZACHARY: I believe so. Except for Liberia it was the only other independent country during the colonial period. Whatever you might think of colonialism the Europeans developed a basic infrastructure in their colonies and introduced educational programs. This did not happen in Ethiopia or Liberia. To take one example, a highway from the coastal ports to Addis Ababa was not constructed in this three-thousand-year old empire until the Italians built one in the 1930's after their conquest of Ethiopia. This is not 'politically correct' but there is something to be said about development due to the colonial experience in Africa.

Q: Aren't the Ethiopians or Abyssinians a biblical race?

ZACHARY: Yes, they are a Semitic race with a Semitic language that migrated from the Arabian Peninsula several millennia ago. The "Night of Nights" in the "Song of Songs" refers to the meeting of King Solomon and the Abyssinian Queen of Sheba. From this encounter a son, Menelik, who became ruler of Ethiopia, is born. The ruling Amharas, centered at Addis Ababa, were Coptic Christians. They were converted to Christianity in the fourth century and were the lost Christian nation of medieval Europe (the Prester John legend).

The Ethiopians are a handsome people with Caucasian features with a copper tone or bronze complexion - they bring to mind Lena Horne and Harry Belafonte. They like to remind foreigners that they are in Africa but not of it. One of their fables tells the story of a God creating the human race. To do so he puts the dough in the oven but he is not paying attention and forgets to take the baked dough out in time and it comes out entirely black. The next time he is nervous and takes it out too soon and it is pasty white. The next time he pays attention and it turns out just right. The Ethiopian race is born.

Q: Addis is one of our high altitude posts, correct?

ZACHARY: Yes. The altitude there was about 8,000 feet, tied with Bogota but considerably lower than La Paz. It was enervating at first and some couldn't adjust to the rarefied atmosphere. The Yugoslav ambassador suffered a fatal heart attack at the time and some American staff members had to be evacuated. Embassy personnel enjoyed descending several thousand feet to Lake Langano or another Rift Valley lake south of Addis for weekends. But one unfortunate staff member died of blackwater fever because he failed to take his malaria pills.

Q: I believe you were assigned to the Economic Section.

ZACHARY: Yes. After I met the staff I learned to my disappointment that the job I expected was filled. It was the liaison position covering the activities of the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) headquartered in Addis. The Embassy ECA officer followed the deliberations of three dozen countries and their efforts at economic development and cooperation. Instead, I was assigned to be a general economic reporting officer for the country. I dealt with US investment opportunities and assistance for US firms of which there were not many. I also covered US aid and economic development. Further, with the Cold War in full swing I reported on the economic activities of the Iron Curtain countries. The Chinese Communists as well as the Soviets were quite active in Africa at the time.

Q: What were some of the specific tasks you handled?

ZACHARY: During my tour we mounted a solo US trade exhibit. I was the Embassy point man for the Commerce Department trade show specialist. An attractive pavilion was erected which brought in a large number of Ethiopians. I accompanied the Ambassador as he escorted the Emperor Haile Selassie through the exhibit. Although very thin on a small frame he had a regal manner. He appeared interested in the displays but was expressionless. He had several more years to reign before the revolutionary Mengistu Haile Marian swept him from power in 1974.

I saw the Emperor a second time when the President of France, General Charles de Gaulle, arrived at the Addis airport. The diminutive but erect Negus, the conquering lion of Judah, less than five feet tall, stood next to the towering Frenchman. It was a sight to behold. I can still see them standing stiffly and motionless as the national anthems were played.

Q: Do you recall any reporting you did?

ZACHARY: One of the interesting assignments I had was to prepare a report on the US-sponsored College of Business Administration at the Haile Selassie University in Addis. Established only a couple of years earlier, the impetus for the school was to challenge the Amhara's and other Ethiopians disdain for a career in business and increase their number in managerial and entrepreneurial jobs. At the time most of the businesses were controlled by European and Near Eastern expats. Most of the support for the school came from AID and a number of Peace Corpsmen who, despite their youth, were often first-class instructors. After interviewing the American and Ethiopian faculty and students I wrote an upbeat report describing an American success story.

Q: You mentioned the Cold War at this post. Explain.

ZACHARY: Ethiopia was an important ally at the time. We had a large listening post (Kagnew) operated by the military and the National Security Agency at a base near Asmara, now the capital of an independent Eritrea. We maintained a consulate at Asmara in part to support the base and to report on guerrilla activities against the central government. At the time there was a contingent of some six hundred Peace Corps volunteers in Ethiopia, a huge number, and many were based in Eritrea. Ruled by the strongly anti-Communist Emperor, Ethiopia was solidly in the American camp.

Q: Aren't Eritreans mostly an Islamic people?

ZACHARY: Roughly one half of the population is Moslem and one half Christian but the communities have lived side by side without much conflict. That province had been seized by the Italians in 1896 and Mussolini seized the rest of the country in 1935 or 1936. I can remember the fruitless appeal of the Emperor before the League of Nations in 1936 as the democracies of Europe failed to take action against the rising tide of fascism.

Q: Did you travel to Eritrea during your tour?

ZACHARY: Yes, I did. While escorting a visiting officer from the Department's Senior Seminar. I was impressed with the development of Eritrea. Asmara was an attractive Italianate city with tree-lined boulevards and, outside the capital, the large farms looked prosperous. The ports of Assab and Massawa were bustling. The visiting officer was preparing a paper on the Horn of Africa, covering the tensions and rivalry between Ethiopia and Somalia as well as French Somali land, now Djibouti. At Massawa we were invited to a reception aboard a British pagueboat carrying both cargo and passengers from the U.K. to East Asia. When I learned that their next port of call was Djibouti I asked if we could hitch a ride. The purser said fine if we would sign an injury liability release form. We enjoyed a smooth 36-hour ride in the company of British officers.

We spent the next couple of days in Djibouti visiting French officials and we enjoyed a meal at the best French restaurant there. We then took the overnight train back to Addis on the Franco-Ethiopian railroad built at the turn of the century. In the colony the train was guarded by tough-looking Legionnaires. The following morning moving through the barren landscape, we could see hyenas and an occasional dik dik, a miniature antelope, as well as vultures, hawks and other birds.

Q: Who was your Ambassador at that time?

ZACHARY: The Ambassador was a Democratic party supporter, Ed Korry. He came from a publishing background and had an attractive socialite wife. They were reportedly on friendly terms with the Kennedys. Ambassador Korry was a bundle of energy and could be, if required, a one-man show. He would be in his office on a Saturday afternoon or Sundays when the only staff were the Marine guards and type a long message, encode it, and then send it off without any help. He was later picked to serve as ambassador (1967-1971) at a critical hot spot, Chile. At the time the pro-Communist Dr. Salvador Allende came to power. Korry's reputation was tarnished because of his involvement in the right-wing coup that toppled Allende and the subsequent reprisals carried out by the Pinochet government. He spent the following years in an attempt to restore his reputation.

Q: Was your tour cut short before the two years were up?

ZACHARY: Yes. My slot in the Economic Section was a new one Korry had lobbied for. I informed the Department I was none too happy not being assigned the liaison job it the ECA. As a result my tour was cut short and I received direct orders to Leopoldville, Congo. I had been in Addis exactly twelve months.

My recollection of the Addis tour includes public hangings, sometimes near the American community school, where the body would be on display for a day or so. One could also see thieves tied to a cross they were forced to drag down the street followed by an angry mob.

Speaking of things macabre, not long after our my tour began the infamous Brad Bishop arrived at the post with his young family. He was a first-tour officer. I remember what an extraordinarily attractive couple they were, real lookers, eye candy from California. Brad and his wife, Annette, were very sociable and popular as well. He seemed to have it all: a lovely wife and family and a career that continued to do well. Brad beat me out of a part in an amateur production of "The Fantastiks." I saw Brad again in 1975 as he was beginning a tour in the Department. I ran into him near the Department while jogging and I gave him a tour of the men's locker room that he asked to see. In was only weeks later that he was wanted for the alleged murder of his wife, his three sons and his own mother. There still are sightings of him, particularly in Europe, but he has never been found.

Otherwise I was on the school board of the American community school. And a trip to Kaffa in eastern Ethiopia where coffee plants were first discovered and I marveled at the five hundred year-old coffee trees. The entire family visited Nairobi and the Olduvai Gorge - the Garden of Eden for anthropologists. We also visited the game parks Mara Masai, Serengeti and the Ngorongoro Crater in Tanzania. The most impressive park was Murchison Falls in Uganda with a large number of big game - leopards, wildebeests and especially elephants but also hippos and crocodiles near the Falls proper. The capital in Uganda, Kampala, was attractive and calm. This was a few years before Idi Amin seized power and started his reign of terror.

I also remember not making the promotion list to FSO-3, the only time I recall feeling disappointed not making the list.

Q: At this point you had a direct transfer to the Congo?

ZACHARY: Yes, but before arriving in Leopoldville we stopped for a few days in Lagos, Nigeria. Here was a large African capital and the tempo and feeling were vastly different from Addis. The populace was bigger, louder, darker and more animated than the ascetic appearing Ethiopians. The energy and liveliness of the Nigerians crowding the streets was indeed a sight. It was however the sheer number of people, the congestion in the streets that made an impression. The highways and the port were all congested and the trip from the airport was unbelievably slow. A few years later the city and port congestion, with delays to six months and longer to discharge cargo, became a nightmare.

Arriving in Leopoldville I recall driving into the city and seeing a number of tall buildings and tree-lined boulevards. After Addis with only a new Hilton and a couple of other large official buildings, it felt like arriving in a big metropolis.

Q: What was going on there when you arrived?

ZACHARY:The Congo, then under General Sese Seko Joseph Desire Mobutu, was becoming calmer when we arrived in the fall of 1966. Many Belgians were returning after the turmoil and violence of the early 1960's when Mad Mike Hoare and his white mercenaries took on Patrice Lumumba and his Soviet-supported forces. In 1964 the mercenaries and government forces regained control of the country. Former prime minister Moise Tshombe had gone into exile and Lumumba was dead. When we arrived Mobutu was firmly in charge. Soon after declared himself president and in late 1966 he abolished the position of prime minister.

Q: You were assigned to the Economic Section?

ZACHARY: Yes. My job was as head the Economic Section in a joint Economic-AID Section. Joe Mintzes, the Economic Counselor and AID Mission Director, was a career AID official.

The Economic Section consisted of five Americans including a secretary. We analyzed and reported on the economy and maintained contact with the economic ministries. We were also were responsible for commercial issues; relations with US firms in the country, trade promotion, intercession with the government on behalf of US companies. The Section also provided assistance to the AID program in preparing the rationale for US in-country aid programs.

Q: What do remember of your first weeks in the new post?

ZACHARY: Within a week of arrival I learned that Mobutu decided to PNG our ambassador, Mac Godley. He was told to depart immediately, within a day or two. This of course caused great consternation in the front office and in Washington. To deal with the situation we later learned that the CIA Station Chief, Larry Devlin, went to see Mobutu. Larry had been in country for some time and knew Mobutu well. Whether true or not it was generally assumed that CIA had engineered Mobutu's rise to power. Larry reportedly laid it on the line: When the US is the most crucial supporter of the regime you do not PNG the American Ambassador! As a result of this intervention, so the story goes, it was agreed that Godley would be allowed to stay for several weeks and that a new ambassador would be assigned.

Ambassador Godley kept a large commissary of stores in this war-torn country. The Embassy staff was invited to purchase a variety of foodstuffs. By the time I was invited some of the shelves were empty but we did manage to find a few items.

Godley was a flamboyant officer who would serve in other hot spots as DCM or ambassador. Shortly before our arrival he had married his secretary. Given his colorful personality it was only natural that for his honeymoon he took his bride and a plane full of Embassy officers and their wives on a tour of the Congo. They visited the major cities in this vast country, as large as the US east of the Mississippi. According to the participants the entourage arrived in the provincial capitals like gangbusters and wowed the local officials and other bigwigs. It was dubbed a huge success.

Q: What sort of problems did you deal with in your Section?

ZACHARY: During my two-year tour the most severe economic crisis was Mobutu's decision in December 1966 to seize the holdings of the huge Belgian mining company, the Union Miniere de Haut Congo or UMHK. The largest holding of this firm were the copper and cobalt deposits in Katanga Province but they had other holdings as well. Since mining operations were the principal source of the country's foreign exchange earnings his grab was an immediate threat to the country's economic stability.

The Embassy played a critical role in moving this unwise action toward a solution. The Belgian managers were ousted and replaced with Congolese directors. The firm's name also was changed to 'Gecomines'. Mobutu was pressured to hire the former managers back to run the operation and production levels began moving up. A layer of enriched friends of Mobutu were put in place. However, the negative economic impact was not permanent.

Q: What actions did you take?

ZACHARY: Given the importance of the Congo to our maintaining our influence in central Africa we strongly backed support from the IMF. An IMF stabilization loan was arranged to strengthen the Congo's financial position. Our section played a vital role in keeping relations between the government and the IMF on track.

Q: Did the government live up to its obligations under the IMF agreement?

ZACHARY: Yes, pretty much. The 18-month plan was started in June 1967 and almost a year later it was still on track. Inflation was sharply reduced and wages continued to be frozen. Credit for the Congolese performance belonged to Albert Ndele, Governor of the National Bank. The Embassy's combined Economic-AID Section began working on moving assistance away from emergency aid to development projects. With the improving economic conditions overall confidence and economic activity rose steadily.

Q: So the UMHK operation became a huge cash cow for Mobutu's friends and allies?

ZACHARY: Yes. It was a nifty way to enrich some of his allies without killing the cow. And many of Mobutu's pals did prosper. That reminds me of Victor Nendaka, head of the country's security services. He was reportedly related to and a confident of Mobutu's, one of the inner, inner circle. During my time there the word was that he held a soiree with his cronies where he announced that his wealth had risen to 20 million Belgian francs.

Q: Did you ever meet Mobutu?

ZACHARY: Only once up close. I saw him on several official occasions but one time I attended a small luncheon he hosted at one of his residences. The occasion was the visit of the US trade representative. Also present were the Charge, my boss and one or two Congolese officials. Mobutu was talkative and charming - he owned a winning smile. The only thing I remember was that after lunch we were invited outdoors to his garden where he kept a caged leopard. He playfully put his hand in the cage and patted him. We were impressed.

Q: Were there any other Embassy initiatives to overcome the economic crisis?

ZACHARY: Mobutu decided he wanted to have a brand new currency and a strong one. He changed the currency from francs to "Zaires". To make it the 'strongest' currency in the world he pegged one Zaire at two dollars. Alas, it wasn't too long before the exchange rate against the dollar and other currencies fell sharply. So much for the 'strongest' currency.

The name of the country, "Congo" was changed while I was there to "Zaire," a precolonial designation from an indigenous language. The name of the Congo River, which flowed past the city to the Atlantic, was also renamed to Zaire. So, at that point, if my memory serves me, the country, the river and currency all had the same name. Some sources ascribe different dates but I believe the renaming all happened while I was there from 1966 to 1968.

While the stabilization program was in effect a new Section director from AID came on board. Charlie Mann had already served in some Asian hot spots. He was a colorful individual and agreeable to work for, as was Joe Mintzes. On arriving I took him on a tour of the central market of the city which he enjoyed. At one point he asked what some cooked meat was for sale and was told it was monkey or 'cousin' as the Congolese called that item. Charlie proceeded to buy a piece, took a few bites and handed it to me. I looked at him and then took a bite - it wasn't too bad.

Q: Were there other events of note during your tour?

ZACHARY: Yes. About this time a Belgian planter named Jean Schramme staged a revolt against the Mobutu government. He was operating in Orientale Province and tried to seize Stanleyville. He had about 120 white mercenaries and several thousand Katangese soldiers. It was not a large force but it kept the Congolese Army at bay for months.

This sparked the riots that gripped the capital in the summer of 1967. The rioters attacked the Belgian Embassy and penetrated the building and caused fires. A number of cars including some belonging to Americans went up in flames. The mob then decided to move to the nearby US Embassy and headed in that direction. This occurred during our normal Embassy working hours. It took the appearance of Mobutu himself to calm the crowd and send the rioters on their way.

The capital during this dustup was hit with a curfew which always began about twilight, about 6:00 PM, for this city not far from the equator. During those weeks it was enforced for foreigners and Congolese alike so we had to reach our nighttime destinations rather early. Air travel was snafued and Embassy personnel arrivals and departures were delayed for days and weeks. There was tension and confusion in the capital but Schramme never threatened it. We accepted the curfew and extra precautions and went on as before the uprising. I think Mobutu did not want any incidents involving Americans or other foreigners.

Q: The Congo is an enormous country. Did you get to see much of the rest of the country?

ZACHARY: Yes, I did. I was invited by the director of Mobil Oil operations in the country on a ten-day trip around the country. He periodically visited Mobil outlets in the country's major cities, such as Elizabethville, Stanleyville and Goma. In Goma there were a few Pygmies from the Ituri Forest. We flew low over the Prince Albert National Park and caused herds of water buffalos and other herds to stampede. We visited a Swiss trading company where ivory, probably poached, was being prepared for shipment. We flew into an active volcanic crater below the rim, a heart-pounding experience. That volcano had erupted only a few years before. We were caught in a severe downdraft over the jungle when the small aircraft lost power and dropped thousands of feet before regaining power. At Stanleyville I took a walk in town with a camera and a very unfriendly Congolese Army lieutenant threatened to arrest me. At the time I was taking a photo of a street sign that was in both French and Flemish. It was not too smart a plan to wander around (particularly with a camera!) in this unfriendly city which had been a leftist Lumumba stronghold and the center for his pro-Communist movement.

Other trips included the Kasai region where I witnessed the production of industrial diamonds. Another visit was to Katanga Province and our group toured the open pit copper mines and the processing of the ore. I took the family to the mouth of the Congo River at Banana and caught a barracuda which the hotel prepared for us. Traveling there meant going through road blocks and bribing soldiers with cigarettes. On one occasion I had to get out of the car and see the officer in charge and explain the reason for our travel. On another occasion I escorted an officer from our Embassy in Brussels to the Bas Congo province so he could observe tropical birds! I also had the opportunity to travel to Belgium and consult on economic issues with Embassy officers there. I recall going to Antwerp and asking for directions in French. The Flemish person I asked refused to speak French until I convinced him I was American and not a Walloon.

Q: Leaving your official duties for a moment what was it like living there at that time?

Everyone had their families at the post. On Sundays there were four or eight hour get togethers with food, games for adults and children and much conversation. Sometimes we picnicked on one of the islands in the middle of the Congo river. A few adventuresome types would water ski on the fast moving river - we called it 'trolling for crocodiles'. On occasion a group would go further upriver to a pleasant area where fifteen or twenty large Mississippi River type paddle boats were parked. I never learned when they were actually used.

Q: Did your family enjoy the experience?

ZACHARY: Yes. We occupied a large house, formerly the DCM's residence, just a block or so from the river. It came with four or five servants including a "sentinel" with around the clock security. The wives were kept busy running such a house, entertaining and volunteering for various activities.

Our teenage daughter loved the experience and still keeps in touch with classmates who were children of missionaries and Embassy personnel. She attends reunions of these individuals still. My son was only two years old when we arrived and loved to run around the garden and large terrace. We allowed this until the guard killed a deadly black mamba or 'three step' snake in the garden.

Q: Are there any other events that come to mind?

ZACHARY: Vice President Hubert Humphrey made an official visit to the Congo in January 1968 with a large official party. It was quite a show and a payoff for Mobutu's solid cooperation on Cold War issues. The formal dinner he hosted was quite a spectacular event and the gifts he offered to the visiting delegation even more so. These items are probably resting peacefully in some US government warehouse

What stands out vividly for me was a large reception the Ambassador hosted in his garden for the American community. There were about one hundred guests, Peace Corps members, the American business community, a sizable number of missionaries and the Embassy staff. The Vice President started speaking in his sincere and garrulous manner. He was really cranked up when he started on the war in Viet Nam. He went on in great length how the Communist forces were on the verge of defeat. We had turned the corner in this long war but now victory was in sight. President Johnson would have much appreciated the enthusiastic support Humphrey was giving him in this unpopular war. Air Force One or Two had hardly cleared the runway when the Communist Tet offensive exploded and everything was changed. I felt sorry for Mr. Humphrey for I remember him in better days as a young senator during one of the very first times I had ever watched television fighting hard to include a civil rights plank in the Democratic Party platform for the 1948 elections.

I was the control officer for Edgar Bronfman, a deep pocket contributor to the Democratic Party and owner of the Canadian Club Distilleries. He turned out to be rather unpleasant and, among other things, enjoyed disparaging the Foreign Service and State. He bragged about having acquired the Chivas Regal distillery. My sole consolation for this disagreeable experience was his excessive anxiety when some Congolese youths rocked our vehicle a few times on the trip from the airport and the obvious tense relations between him and his wife. I thought of him and chuckled a few years later when I read that one of his sons had staged a phony kidnapping of himself!

Q: Anything else before we go on to another assignment?

ZACHARY: Well, I was surprised that the animosity between Belgian Walloons and Flemings was felt this far from Brussels and Antwerp. There were anti-Flemish jokes and a number of Belgians spoke disparagingly about the Flemish segment of their society.

An incident occurred on a golf course that illustrated this. I was playing a round with the Agricultural Attache, Leroy Rasmussen. After teeing off on one hole we ran into 20-25 late teen-age Congolese youths playing soccer on that fairway. It was impossible to shoot through them but Leroy tried anyway. They stopped playing and began yelling at us but Leroy persisted. We were not par players or playing for money so I picked up my ball and proceeded to walk around them - discretion is the better part or something - to the next hole. The players were now yelling curses such as "salaud" and "espece de con", etc. Then, saving the worst for last, they began cursing us with the word "flamande" (Fleming), the dirtiest - most insulting curse word in French that they knew. Then someone threw the soccer ball back onto the field and the players completely forgot about us. The ethnic tensions in a small European country had been transmuted to central Africa.

Q: What thoughts and feelings come to you now when you look back at your time in Africa?

ZACHARY: It was an extraordinary experience living in cultures so different from my own. I felt that my colleagues and I were doing important work in attending to US interests as well as the host country. We played an essential role in assisting the leaders of a new country achieve some level of economic and political stability. However small a cog one might be, I felt that I was playing a useful role in our confrontation with the Soviet and Chinese threat and assisting in stabilizing the new nation.

Another less sanguine sentiment is that these societies were functioning at a tragically disturbing level. Poverty, incompetence, corruption, lack of education of the masses cast a pall over my recollections. When I think about what can be done to move these societies forward I have a feeling of hopelessness and a fear that development will be a very long, slow process. Finally, as much as I admire European civilization and progress, I am troubled by the fact that the former European colonial powers have not done more to help their former colonies to move ahead.

Q: So you believe that the Europeans while there are to be credited for developing the infrastructure, i.e., the agricultural and mining industries, providing educational and public health programs but are to be faulted for not having done more for their former colonies?

ZACHARY: Yes, pretty much. Seeing the large-scale farming in Eritrea and the Congo and the extractive operations in the Congo and the European-style cities of Asmara and Leopoldville you realize the some development has taken place. There is no doubt that some small segment of the native population has benefited even if the trickle down effect has not been a torrent. And there was progress made in education and disease control under the Europeans. There may have been only a few dozen college graduates in the Belgian Congo in 1960 but then most of the children were receiving at least six or eight years of schooling in this vast country.

But the former colonial powers have offered help but perhaps too little. Could they have made more of a difference with greater participation and assistance? I'll have to say that I don't know. Even if they had gone all out it probably would not have had a powerful impact on development in Africa. That will happen only when the African populations have benefited more from the rewards of education and development.

Q: You returned to Greece in 1969 only four years after leaving Thessaloniki in 1965. How did that happen?

ZACHARY: Well, the Junta seized power in 1967. That was the most damaging setback for US policy since we took over from the Brits in 1947. From 1947 until 1967 we had provided strong support to the national government during the civil war and we continued active involvement in Greek reconstruction and development.

One reason I was reassigned so soon after leaving was that as political officer from 1962 until 1965 I knew a number of Greek politicians and other opinion leaders who were under house arrest or restricted in their movements. That plus knowledge of Greek and the country resulted in being assigned as Commercial Attachï¿½ in Athens in 1969.

Q: How did it work out?

ZACHARY: Quite well. Apart from my work as Commercial Attachï¿½ and deputy chief of the Economic Section I moonlighted with politicians and others under surveillance. These individuals had a certain amount of freedom to meet with us. They would inform me and other Embassy staff of any harassment and report the latest on Junta activities.

There was one group in Thessaloniki, called the Group of Seven, which included a friend, Stellios Nestor, a young lawyer. This group rather naively tried to openly encourage resistance to the Junta and distributed leaflets to that effect. Their effort didn't last very long. They were thrown into prison, tortured and given heavy sentences. I would meet periodically with Nestor's wife and obtain information about him and the others. Mrs. Nestor and other Greeks always seemed able to obtain information about what was going on in the prisons and elsewhere. In another instance the senior Greek employee at American Express was arrested and tortured even though he was not young and not in good health. Through the liberal grapevine we learned of this treatment and American Express engaged former Secretary of State, Cyrus Vance, and a second attorney who had been the UK ambassador to the UN. They negotiated his release. What we did was to put pressure on the colonels to avoid any actions that would bring retaliatory measures by the U.S.

Q: Did Greeks suffer much during this period? Was it oppressive?

ZACHARY: Well, it wasn't Moscow circa 1935. For most it was just the sobering realization that Greek democracy has been kidnapped and that there was little that could be done but go on with their lives. So, if you kept your head down things weren't too bad. They were attempting to purify the race and they used the legendary bird Phoenix, arising from the ashes, as a symbol of this purification. There was more military presence and the silly slogan "Greece for Christian Greeks" was placed on mountain sides throughout the country, somewhat like the "HOLLYWOOD" sign on a California hillside. There were travel restrictions. There were such annoyances as the banning of the music of the country's most popular composer, Mikis Theodorakis. The breaking of plates at late night bouzouki joints - too barbarian or 'eastern' said the colonels - was forbidden. Miniskirts were banned, long hair and beards were out. I still keep a copy of the German Life magazine "Quick," dated February 13, 1973. The cover has a photo of a lovely fraulein with only a gold chain around her waist. The Greek censors have taken the trouble to put three black dabs on the young lady's photo and then allowed its circulation. The well-known actress, Melina Mercuri, had her citizenship taken from her. Her response: "I was born a Greek and I will die a Greek. Papadopoulos was born a Fascist and he will die a Fascist."

The Greeks made fun of the colonels as unsophisticated bumpkins, peasant lads who somehow won commissions in the army. The dumbest of the triumvirate (Papadopoulos, Makarezos and Pattakos) was allegedly Pattakos. One joke went as follows: The colonels prided themselves on their promptness, a la Mussolini, never a recognized Greek virtue. In this joke Pattakos arrived late for a formal dinner at the Athens Hilton. Papadopoulos is most annoyed to see him arriving late and in civilian dress for a tuxedo affair. Well, Pattakos explained to the Number One Junta leader, he arrived on time but then got into the elevator and the sign read "No Smoking." So he rushed home and changed clothing. The Greeks used the English word 'smoking' for tuxedo.

Another joke has the leader Papadopoulos visiting Egypt and is taken to a pyramid. Sadat explains that experts are unable to identify which pharaoh is buried there. The Greek leader asks if he can visit the tomb alone and his wish is granted. Papadopoulos returns after fifteen minutes and announces that it is the tomb of Ramses II of the Fourth Dynasty. How did he manage that, asks the amazed Egyptians. Papadopoulos smiles and informs: "He confessed!"

As time went on Papadopoulos assumed more control. In addition to holding the title of prime minister he became minister of Defense, Education, I don't recall the other ministries. In this joke Pattakos, always the butt, walks into a conference room and Papadopoulos is alone at the head of the table. Pattakos starts to speak up but Papadopoulos snaps at him: "Please don't interrupt, can't you see I'm having a special cabinet meeting?" He had good reason to be paranoid for in November 1973 another officer (loannidis) pulled off a coup d'etat and removed him from power.

A new hit song appeared at this time. "Oh, George Is So Sly," about a very crafty guy who can't be trusted. George happened to be the first name of Papadopoulos. It was quite a hit but the Junta looked the other way. Even though they wanted to purify Greek life they realized you could push the Greeks only so far.

Q: What comments do you have about US policy toward the Junta?

ZACHARY: In 1967 President Johnson halted most military aid and adopted a "cool but correct" stance. Before long this position belied the reality. The US military pressed hard to accept the offers the Greeks wished to bestow on us. "Home porting" for some Sixth Fleet vessels was introduced. An aircraft carrier and four destroyers were to be based in the Athens area. This would allow both officers and enlisted men to bring their families over to reside in Greece. Other US facilities were expanded. The naval communications facility at Marathon (exactly 26.2 miles from downtown Athens) was established at that time. The Pentagon may have surreptitiously continued aid that was supposedly halted, claiming it was providing only replacement parts for equipment already operated by Greek forces.

During my tour the military was told to cut down on the stream of general officers making visits to Greece from Washington and NATO. Not long after a directive was issued restricting such travel an Air Force general from the European theater arrived for an inspection. He was the general in the European theater in charge of PX's. So much for cutting back on high-level military visitors.

Even more questionable were the number of high-level civilian visitors which included our Greek-American Vice President Spiro Agnew, Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird, the influential Secretary of Commerce Maurice Stans, etc.

The rationale for all this was the Cold War. The conflict in Viet Nam was going strong and many believed the bowling ball theory of Communist encroachment. The Prague spring occurred about this time, in 1968. Despite this, Greece's democratic allies in West Europe applied considerably more pressure on the colonels than we did.

Q: Henry Tasca was your ambassador during your tour, 1969-1973. How well did he carry out U.S. policy?

ZACHARY: He argued that if we restore full military aid the Junta promised him they would lift martial law and release political prisoners. After we restored aid, and then asked the colonels for the quid pro quo, he was told that he may have outlived his usefulness in Athens. Machiavelli was outfoxed by Byzantium in this case. So martial law continued.

Eleni Vlachou, the owner/editor of the leading Greek newspaper, Kathimerini, was under some kind of restrictive order or house arrest but continued to circulate in Athenian society. More than once she made this comment about US policy: "I know you (the USG) must do business with these guys but why do you have to make love in public?"

Q: What else can you say about Ambassador Tasca?

ZACHARY: Tasca operated in a manner favored by the military and the Washington hawks. President Nixon knew and liked this hardliner. In 1953, when he was Vice President, Nixon chose Tasca to oversee economic aid programs in South Korea. Tasca brought in a political counselor who had previously worked with him and agreed with his approach. In another instance the Consul General in Thessaloniki at the time was reporting anti-Junta sentiment. Tasca had him removed. At that time constituent posts were authorized to report directly to Washington without Embassy approval so Tasca was out of line.

Of the seven ambassadors I have worked under Tasca was the least popular and the one I liked least. Nor was his wife well liked. Born in Italy Mrs. Tasca was openly disdainful of the Greeks and made it known to them. With the Embassy staff she was known as "Madame or Signora Garbage Collector" because her father rose to riches in Mussolini's Italy by winning lucrative contracts for trash collection.

Q: How important during the 1967-1974 period were our military interests in Greece?

ZACHARY: Our military of course were riding high since the Junta was bending over backwards to please them. They got home porting privileges for the Navy, which meant the presence of an additional number of Americans - thousands in the Athens-Piraeus area. The military felt it was an achievement to obtain this concession from the Junta. Of course this was the time, in 1968, of the Czech crisis and tense international relations, which probably helped in obtaining home porting. It was a pretty cozy relationship. We fell into a love feast because the Junta encouraged it. They definitely felt they could win silence or concessions from us by treating our military well. Home porting and the Litton contract were the most obvious successful manifestations of that policy.

Q: Home porting never really got off the ground. I don't think we actually ever put a carrier group in there.

ZACHARY: We moved families in. I believe the destroyers were actually home ported in Piraeus. But the 1974 ouster of the colonels pretty much put an end to home porting. But it was an indication of the friendly relations that the Colonels tried to create - giving us things that we wanted so that we would continue our aid and support. We had a much cozier attitude than the Europeans. They were more correctly distancing themselves from the Colonels.

Q: We have discussed our political and military interests in Greece. You were the commercial officer in our Embassy. How much influence did our economic-commercial interests have on our policy?

ZACHARY: It was not a major factor. The biggest commercial event at that time was the invitation to Litton Industries to invest in Greece. They promised the Colonels that they would bring in one billion dollars in new investments, with particular emphasis on the development of the western part of the Peloponnesus. They brought in a huge staff to attract foreign investment. The first and perhaps only successful venture was to establish a German brewery to Crete. It went up very fast. It was the first foreign beer to be produced in Greece. Before that, there was only "Fix." I know that Bill McGrew, a former Foreign Service Officer, was stationed in Patras to assist in the drafting of a development plan that was targeted on bringing industry into that part of Greece. They used it to show their dynamic attitude towards the economy. The number three guy in the Junta, Makarezos, was a pretty good economist and probably the best administrator of the Greek colonels. He was the one we dealt with on economic issues.

Our total trade figures with Greece were not that impressive, but investment did rise massively because of the Esso- Pappas refinery and chemical plant which were initiated before the coup in 1967. We thought investment would tend to grow, but it has not developed even today in the way it was anticipated. Assets were sold off or abandoned. Our total trade figures with Greece have, if anything declined over the years. As a result, investment and trade never developed the way we were anticipating back in the 1960s and 1970s. The most interesting thing I did in that commercial job was to put up a U.S. Pavilion in the Thessaloniki Fair. Ambassador Tasca told us to do it, even though he knew that Washington would not finance any part of the costs. He insisted it be put up. With USIA help and with a fee of $1,000 for a certain number of square feet from each exhibitor, we raised approximately $40,000 that we used in part for a nice centerpiece. We had a piece of moon rock and one of our astronauts, Colonel Stafford, participated. It was a big success. The following year, we received a bit of money from Washington, from USIA and Commerce. It was because of Tasca's insistence that we put up a pretty respectable pavilion. Here again, he wanted to impress the Junta with our interest in Greece and the close connection between the two countries. At the time, one wondered whether that was the appropriate moment to go into the fair. We had not participated for a number of years, but the Ambassador insisted and so it was done.

Q: My impression at the time was that the Junta did not seem to operate very effectively, at least in areas such as housing, roads or other infrastructures. They would get a fancy idea and then proceed in different directions which was not a feasible way to accomplish anything. In a parliamentary system, these problems are sorted out. In a dictatorship, decrees are issued and then it is discovered that it doesn't work. From the economic point of view, how did you find the administration of the country?

ZACHARY: They tried to score points with developmental projects but they didn't accomplish that much. When the Colonels came to power, they wanted the railroads to run on time. With their military background - meeting deadlines, etc. - they announced that no one would have to wait if an appointment had been made. Their stress was on orderliness and timeliness. It fell by the wayside but they did give business a free hand. In addition to Litton, there were other entrepreneurs - Greeks and Greek-Americanstrying to jump start tourism, etc. They were told that red-tape would be cut. It was clear that the Junta wanted to succeed to improve its image. It was trying to impress, as with home porting, and to make a mark by bringing in investment, by having a more open climate for investment and business, by letting the Americans get what they wanted. They were obviously trying to win friends.

Q: Weren't they also trying to attract businesses which dealt with the Middle East and which previously had headquartered in Beirut?

ZACHARY: Yes. There was a law which permitted the establishment of a headquarters' office to operate in the Middle East markets without paying Greek taxes. It allowed duty-free import of automobiles and other duty-free privileges for headquarters operations engaged primarily outside of Greece. I don't think the Junta introduced it. It was enacted before. However, the Junta promoted it and strongly encouraged it. Even at that time, Beirut was becoming less attractive, although it was still a pretty good town. The Junta was bending over backwards to be seen by us as nice guys. They were trying to win friends one way or another.

Q: Did you find that because the European democracies were shying away from Greece while we were getting closer to the Junta, American businesses were doing better than European ones?

ZACHARY: We obtained the Litton contract over a competing French outfit. That was a major item. I don't recall any American businessmen complaining. I know that we went down to the wire on a big military jet contract, that had two American and one French company competing. There was a lot of wheeling and dealing. I didn't get the feeling that the Greeks were necessarily throwing it our way. The French competed aggressively with the French Ambassador acting as a full-time commercial attachï¿½. That was his principal task. The French maintained good relations. But I don't think European business was hurt by the Junta. They had a larger volume of trade than we did. Certainly the Germans, the French and the Italians were doing well. The Italians put on a big show every year at the Thessaloniki Fair. They had a huge pavilion selling all sorts of inexpensive goods. They didn't let their views of the Junta deter them from seeking commercial opportunities.

Q: You left Greece in 1973. You served in Paris 1973-74.

ZACHARY: Yes. In 1972 I was promoted to the senior service, FSO-2, as it was designated then. The promotion improved the assignment picture with the chance to land a more interesting, responsible position. In March, 1973, or about four months before a normal rotation, I received word that I was assigned to Paris as the Embassy's Economic Counselor. This made sense since my background was in economic affairs and given my proficiency in French. I had studied at the Sorbonne in 1949-50 and had spent two years in French-speaking Congo Republic.

Regarding the Economic Section in Paris there was, in addition to the Economic Counselor, a Minister for Economic Affairs. The Minister was Chris Petrow. He had picked my name from a list of five he was given. We knew each other from my first post and when I was in Kinshasa Chris was the Economic Counselor in Brussels. Since the Republic of the Congo, (renamed "Zaire" while I was there) was the infamous Belgian Congo of yore, there remained strong, commercial and cultural ties. For that reason I was authorized a week's orientation trip to Brussels and Chris came to Kinshasa for a week long visit. Chris was an enthusiastic bird watcher so I arranged a field trip to the area near the mouth of the Congo River, the Bas Congo region. While excellent for bird watching it was also a rich agricultural region with a vibrant economy.

The Economic Section in Paris had two other officers, one for general economic reporting and the other to report on and coordinate assistance to the former French colonies in Africa. We also had a CIA officer in the section to give him Embassy cover. He performed some general economic work as well.

Q: What were some of the problems you dealt with in the Section?

ZACHARY: The most pressing issue during my time in Paris was the enlargement of the European Community to include Ireland, Denmark and Britain. We had a vital interest in ensuring that the US would not be adversely affected by the enlargement.

One weapon in our arsenal was a surcharge previously levied on French cognac. In the 1950's and early 1960's we had gained a large market in Europe for processed chickens. When the Common Market was established the French had blocked these US exports with a crippling surcharge. We had retaliated with a hefty increase in the duty on French cognac and a few other products. Known as "The Chicken Wars" the duties were still in place.

An official from the office of the US Trade Representative came for the negotiations on the chicken versus cognac issue. The two of us were flown to the cognac region in a jet owned by the Hennessey company to check on the firm's export records to determine the damage done by our surcharge. We were entertained as guests of the Hennessey company one memorable evening in their historic chateaus. After dinner, while sipping fifty-year old XO cognac, we watched the first presidential debates ever held in France between party leaders Giscard d'Estaing and Mitterrand. This occurred in 1974, some years after Kennedy and Nixon had initiated them in the US.

I asked the hosts how a renowned French brandy had the name of Hennessey. I was told that Richard Hennessey was an Irish mercenary serving the French King. For his service he was given land in the town of Cognac and in 1765 started a business, initially sending some of his brandy back to Irish friends and relatives. Our hosts boasted that 98 percent of the cognac consumed in Ireland was their product!

Q: What other issues did you handle?

ZACHARY: The Economic Section dealt with the back and forth of Franco-American trade problems, analyzing the performance of the French economy and that country's role as a key player in the Community. I was on panels discussing the Nixon Round of discussions on tariff reductions, non tariff barriers to trade and concessions to less developed countries. I had regular contact with the French-American Chamber of Commerce. I also traveled outside Paris to present US positions on economic issues to provincial Chambers of Commerce. I also interceded to line up French support of such issues as supporting whaling conventions, the illegal ivory trade and international communications agreements.

Paris also had a flood of official visitors. I spent two days with Senator Walter Mondale, later the Democratic Party's 1984 candidate for president. We called on Jean Monnet, the father of the European Common Market, as well as other officials.

There was also the aging playboy congressman from Louisiana, head of an important committee that provided aid to overseas schools and hospitals. The American Hospital in Paris was extremely deferential to this curmudgeon, providing call girls for him during his stay. I was stuck with his staff one evening and they also wished to enjoy some Parisian delights. As the evening was coming to an end I pointed them in the right direction.

We were besieged with visitors for the Paris Air Show, a commercially important biennial affair. Former Senator Barry Goldwater and Republican candidate for president in 1964 was the official US representative to the event. The Soviets invited the US delegation to take a ride in a recently developed super sonic jet, similar in concept to the French Concorde. The Embassy strongly urged the delegation not to accept the invitation as it might ruffle the feathers of the French who were hoping to expand the market for the Concorde with US carriers. They accepted our recommendation.

Then the unthinkable happened. The Soviet supersonic crashed, killing all passengers and crew. On the US delegation was a former official (Alexander Butterfield) in the Nixon White House. Not long after returning to the US from Paris he was summoned to testify before the congressional committee investigating the Watergate scandal. An attorney for the committee, just prior to concluding his interrogation, asked if there was any kind of recording system in the Oval Office. To avoid a perjury charge he answered 'Yes'. This admission sealed the fate of the Nixon White House. Had he been on the ill fated Soviet jet the secret might have remained with him.

Q: What was it like working in Embassy Paris?

ZACHARY: The Embassy staff, the numerous FSO's and representatives of almost every US government agency, was a serious bunch, more uptight than at any of my previous experience at four other embassies. It brought to mind some of the cocktail party repartee at a couple of previous posts where we developed the idea that an Embassy staff tended to take on the traits of the locals. We mused that in Helsinki one drank more, in Bonn one worked harder, in Naples one relaxed more and here, in Paris, staff members were more formal and intense.

Although I knew Chris Petrow before arriving in Paris it turned out that I did not get along to well with him. He did not create a good work place environment and kept most of the glamour duties for himself. About the time he received approval for an extension of his tour the post was inspected. I was becoming more comfortable in the job but I didn't relish another year with Chris. My request to return to the US for assignment was approved. The entire family was ready to return. We had been overseas for 13 years except for a one year stint at the Air War College in Alabama .

Paris was not entirely a frustrating experience. The entire family felt comfortable there. My wife and I had studied there and were married in Paris and we had French acquaintances. We enjoyed the theater, the museums, exploring Paris, visits from friends. The two of us even managed to dine at six of the seven three-star Guide Michelin restaurants there, a pleasure that would be beyond our means at today's prices. With our two children we visited the provinces, Brittany, Alsace, the Loire and Provence and also northern Spain. I have revisited Paris many times since.

Q: After Paris you went to Washington in the African Bureau and the Board of Examiners.

ZACHARY: In 1974, I was assigned to the Bureau of African Affairs (AF) as an office director. The Bureau has four geographic offices but also an economic office and then my office, a catch-all one. This office covered all Africa for certain issues. In it there was a labor officer, a Marine Corps major for military issues, an officer to cover UN relations and the Organization for African Unity. We prepared NSC memoranda and action memos dealing with continent-wide issues.

Q: What are some of the events and actions that come to mind during this tour?

ZACHARY: First off, I made a three-week orientation tour to Africa after an absence of seven years. I spent three to six days in Chad, Liberia, South Africa, Tanzania, Madagascar and Mauritius.

What stands out now in particular was a four-day stop in Monrovia. By that time I had already visited a number of African cities during my earlier tours but the Liberian capital struck me as the most desolate, backward capital I had visited. And this was before Sergeant Doe and Charles Taylor and the turmoil that began in the l980's. There was an air of hopelessness and resignation that hung over the place. It was all the more disturbing when one remembers that the country was founded by Americans in the 1840's. I found it disturbing because with its American roots that we hadn't done more over the decades to assist this struggling society.

Before traveling to Liberia I stopped at N'Djamena, Chad. I took a trip north for several hours in a jeep to the a market town in the Sahel, a quasi desert region. The barrenness and poverty were widespread without many signs of development.

I was impressed with the beauty and bustle of South Africa, especially Capetown. That city, Durban, Johannesburg and Pretoria were modern Western cities. In those days our relations were touchy as we pressed the white-run government to open that society more to blacks. In the US shareholders were divesting themselves of South African holdings and American media and individuals were speaking out against apartheid.

The visits to Dar-es-Salaam, Madagascar and Mauritius were informative and the three countries were relatively stable at that time. I managed to have a few scuba dives and some snorkeling in those places in order to enjoy the rich underwater life of the Indian Ocean.

Q: What responsibilities were you involved with in the Bureau?

ZACHARY: The biggest effort I was involved with was as coordinator for Henry Kissinger's first trip to Africa in 1977. I coordinated the action memoranda from the Bureau and other parts of the Department and maintained contact with other agencies such as the Air Force which did the flight planning. We sent a daily progress report to the Secretary's office and others to keep them informed of progress and glitches. I recall going into the Department 48 or 49 consecutive days to keep on top of things.

Q: What was it like getting involved with Kissinger?

ZACHARY: He fussed a lot about trip details. He really didn't want to waste time visiting this powerless continent. As if to show his disdain of the 'dark continent' he had already chopped off the northern tier, the Maghreb (Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and Egypt) and put them in the Near Eastern Bureau.

And he was worried about 'bugs' or diseases. While meeting with him in his attractive office with Secretary Bill Schaufele on one occasion he commented that he would be bored with these African leaders. Schaufele pointed out that Julius Nyerere of Tanzania was a distinguished scholar and writer and that Felix Houphouet-Boigny of the Ivory Coast was a brilliant person. Kissinger's only comment about the latter was something like OK, he has published a few poems and he has a French wife. He said he wanted to visit a village or two, probably to see the natives jumping around as in the Tarzan movies of the 1930's.

Q: What did the Bureau and Kissinger hope to accomplish with the visit?

ZACHARY: Well, we urged him to visit the most important countries such as Nigeria and ones where we would show our appreciation of their pro-US positions, such as Kenya. The most important initiative of the trip was to make a major address on human rights directed at the southern tier states. At that time, 1977, there remained Portuguese colonial rule in Angola and Mozambique, white-ruled Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), Southwest Africa (now Namibia) and apartheid South Africa. The address was to stress an end to racism, colonialism, and press for more democratic societies.

Q: How was this accomplished?

ZACHARY: He gave the address in the nearby capital of Lusaka, Zambia. We were asked to prepared a draft on the subject of human rights. At the next meeting he commented rather casually that he had read our draft and that he had one question: Should he be kneeling when he delivered it? He then went on to say "You Foreign Service officers think you can change the world be uttering some sentimental crap about democracy and human rights." He said instead we must find pressure points and quid pro quos and forget about lighting a candle and praying for heavenly intervention.

I loved that line about kneeling when he would make the speech. Obviously he could be very funny and he always looked to see if you reacted to his quip. He could throw out one liners with the best and probably could have made it as a stand up comic.

Q: Any other comments about the trip?

ZACHARY: I was not invited to make the trip, only the Assistant Secretary, I believe, went from AF. The trip was deemed a success. But speaking of this colorful Secretary of State I remember that he kept changing the schedule for one reason or another. Just before the departure he decided he wanted to see Foreign Secretary Couve de Murville in Paris on the way home. However, he was scheduled to give a speech in Charlottesville, Virginia and the timing was tight. The Air Force computers went back to work and we were informed that the only way to swing by Paris was to have a refueling stop in Athens. Kissinger was the most hated man in Greece at the time because of the 1974 Turkish invasion of Cyprus and our inability to stop it as Undersecretary George Ball had done in 1967. After we informed him about the Athens stop, he stared at us and commented, "You want to get me lynched?" It turned out that the aircraft could make a stop at the Souda Bay NATO base on Crete for refueling and save Kissinger from a possible lynching in Athens.

Q: Who was the head of the Bureau while you were there, Bill Schaufele?

ZACHARY: Bill, yes, at the end of my tour. Don Easum was the Assistant Secretary for African Affairs when I started out. Ed Mulcahy was the senior deputy. The deputy I worked most closely with was Jim Blake. I reported to him on the Kissinger visit I mentioned. During the seven-week period we worked on Kissinger's trip to Africa, Jim, who was already quite slender, lost nine pounds, while I gained nine pounds! A coincidence. In my case I blame it on candy bars.

Don Easum wasn't there very long before he was assigned to Lagos. He was followed by Nat Davis and then Bill Schaufele, whom I had known since 1952 in Munich.

I mention these three because they all ran into some difficulties about this time in their careers. Kissinger had developed a thing about Don and had him packed off to Lagos, Nigeria. During a meeting with Kissinger about his trip and his proposed visit to Nigeria and Easum's recommendation he said "With all the affection I have for Easum I'll totally disregard his recommendation." While discussing that leg of the trip Kissinger commented that the security situation in Lagos was bad and he might be killed. He then added "Easum would like that."

Nat Davis run into a career maelstrom in Chile during the Allende-Pinochet crisis, just as Ed Korry, my chief of mission in Addis, had.

Schaufele's troubles occurred during Senate hearings on his appointment to Athens. Greece's relations with us and Turkey were explosive at the time due to the 1974 Turkish invasion and occupation of Cyprus. When Schaufele commented at the hearings that Greek islands hugging the Turkish coast - the Dodecanese islands - were an 'anomaly' the Greeks went ballistic and the Department withdrew his nomination. He was however given the consolation prize of Warsaw, also an important posting but not as sun-baked or glamorous as Athens.

Q: Any other recollections about your AF tour?

ZACHARY: Near the end of my two-year stint I was sent to the UN to cover the Law of the Sea Conference in 1977. My job was to keep in contact with the African delegations and explain the US position. It was agreeable experience to maintain contact with African representatives during the six-week stint.

The Conference dealt with real issues and involved serious debate. But the normal goings on at the UN were a bit unreal with an Alphonse-Gaston atmosphere. Lots of blah blah. It was a surreal atmosphere but nonetheless necessary to maintain regular intercourse with officials from just about every country on the planet. It enhances international cooperation, resolves a certain number of issues and probably does very little harm.

Q: Did you ever think of an ambassadorship at this stage of your career?

ZACHARY: Interesting that you should ask that. My three predecessors in the job, one was Nancy Rawls, were all appointed to chief of mission positions. I never inquired about such a possibility. I didn't have a high-powered senior officer to promote me or, in one case I knew of, a powerful member of Congress to take up my cause. In addition a position in Athens and one in Thessaloniki were opening up, and I much preferred to return to Greece than to a small African Embassy. And I had quite a few contacts from the two earlier tours and I knew that would augment my effectiveness. And as Consul General in Thessaloniki, where I was assigned in 1977, I felt we had more vital interests than at many of the African posts where I might have been assigned.

Q: In 1977, you returned as Consul General in Thessaloniki until 1981. You have gone through three of the four major post-war periods in Greece, missing only the Civil War. You were there in the early 1960s when the country was in a turmoil. Then you were there during the Junta period and later in the post-Junta period.

ZACHARY: My last tour, 1977 to 1981, saw democracy functioning again. And 1981 brought the era of conservative governments to an end and ushered in a long period of left of center administrations. From 1981 until 2003 there were continuous PASOK socialist governments except for the Mitsotakis government in the early 1990's. A week after I finished my tour in 1981 Andreas was elected and his influence prevailed a long time. Now, in 2006, what is amazing is how orderly, how British, politicians have behaved. The old adage "Two Greeks, three political parties" no longer applied. Prime ministers even went across party lines to pick cabinet members and transitions from one party to another was done smoothly and without the vituperative attacks of previous years.

Q: When you were assigned as Consul General, were you given any marching orders by the Department? And what issues affecting the U.S. were on the table when you returned?

ZACHARY: There were no particular marching orders. Our interests were to improve relations after the damage caused by the Junta takeover and by the Cyprus crisis. Keeping Greece firmly committed to NATO in those cold war days was the primary concern.

But attitudes towards the US had changed markedly. The Greeks were much more anti-US. What had happened? Well, two things; one was our alleged support of the colonels' coup in 1967 and the other the Turkish invasion of Cyprus in 1974. The invasion was undertaken after the Greek colonels announced the union (enosis) of Cyprus with Greece. The Turkish invasion which followed was a traumatic event which struck Greek filotimo (pride). The US, they felt, could have prevented the invasion as LBJ had done in 1964. At that time a strongly worded note from the US president to the Turks included the following sentence: "I hope you will understand that your NATO allies have not had a chance to consider whether they have an obligation to protect Turkey against the Soviet Union if Turkey takes a step which results in Soviet intervention, without the full consent and understanding of its NATO allies."

However, as a result of the Turkish invasion Greek democracy was restored as the colonels were forced to abdicate. With democracy restored the Greeks were now free to blame us for our support of the Junta. In fact the coup in 1967 had surprised everyone including the senior Greek military, our CIA and the Pentagon. But it became evident that the US, led by our military, got pretty cozy with the Junta. It's worth repeating what the journalist Eleni Vlachou, the owner of Kathimerini, said it just right, "I know you must do business with these guys, but why do you have to make love in public?"

People kept commenting throughout this period on how difficult it was to be in Greece in the 1974-76 period. There were huge demonstrations about Cyprus when I returned in 1977. I guess that on the 17th of November every year, on the anniversary of Greek tanks killing some forty students at the Athens Politechnion, the horrors of the Junta period would be recalled and relived. The memories apparently got worse rather than better with the passage of time.

The Greeks vented much of their anger about the Turkish invasion of Cyprus on Henry Kissinger. He failed to act forcibly when it was apparent the Turks were preparing an invasion fleet. He definitely seemed more concerned about Turkish sensitivities than concerns about the Greeks.

And Henry was aware of the Greek anger directed against him. When I was in AF in 1976 I was involved in the preparation of his first official visit to Africa. At the last minute he decided to return to the U.S. via Paris in order to consult with Foreign Minister Couve de Murville. The only way to accomplish that and still reach Charlottesville, Virginia in time for a scheduled speech was to refuel in Athens, according to the Air Force. When Assistant Secretary Bill Schaufele and I briefed him on that point he looked up at the two of us and said, "What, do you want to get me lynched?"

So when I got there in 1977, there was a solid residue of anti-Americanism. Of course, I had known a lot of people in Thessaloniki for over fifteen years. Since they knew me on a first-name basis, they treated me politely much of the time, but would nevertheless lecture to me about how the U.S. screwed up - the usual Greek tendency to blame someone else for their problems.

So, as Consul General, I thought my main task was representing the United States - building friendly relations, our need to improve them. We were concerned about Greece's future, about our relationship and we tried to dispel the notion that we were enthusiastic about the Junta or that we had brought it into being. We succeeded in having the Ambassador and other Embassy officers come up and engaging influential members of the community. I worked closely with USIS. It was fairly easy to get American cultural groups to Thessaloniki, such as Arts America performances. We had a very active program generated by some very good PAO's. That outreach program plus my travels to provincial cities attempted to create good will.

Q: The Cold War was still in full swing in the late seventies. What impact did that have in your bailiwick?

ZACHARY: The Cold War battle lines were more stabilized than in the mid-1960's. Looking back it is now apparent that the Communist world was losing steam and the East-West rivalry was at a standoff. We still had four units attached to Greek artillery regiments. Their mission was to protect and, if necessary, to employ tactical nooks against invading Communist forces. An Air Force communication unit sat on top of Mount Hortiatis near Thessaloniki and provided instant communications with the NATO command centers.. A Soviet threat at that time did not seem imminent. The Yugoslavs had broken away decades earlier and bordering Bulgaria was becoming more interested in trade and tourism.

Q: I believe that domestically Andreas, as the Greeks normally referred to Papandreou, was a rising star?

ZACHARY: In 1977 the political climate, as in 1962-1965 when we reported a strong trend toward the more liberal party led by Andreas Papandreou's father, was shifting leftward. In 1977 the conservative party leader Karamanlis, had been in power since the Junta was thrown out in 1974. By 1977 the socialist party (PASOK) under Andreas Papandreou was attracting a large following with his anti-US, anti-NATO, anti-EU line. A week after my four-year tour ended in September 1981 he won handily and assumed power for the first time. His party, PASOK, was to remain in power for most of the next twenty years. And he was taking Greece in a new direction inspired by third-world leaders such as Nasser and Tito. He playing the anti-US card and moved closer to the USSR. He introduced socialist policies domestically and tried to exonerate ELAS, the Communist force that waged the bitter civil war of 1946-1949. He ran his party with an iron hand and drove his EU partners nuts with vetoes. He even vetoed a censure vote against the Polish dictator, General Jaruzelski, at the time of the Lech Walesa crisis in Poland.

Q: Did all this cause problems for our strategic goals in NATO, the Near East and southern Europe?

ZACHARY: Well, Andreas talked the talk but he didn't always walk the walk. He left our military assets pretty much as they were and even negotiated a new base agreement that did not cause us serious problems. Once he had twisted the lion's tail he was usually happy to move on to other issues. He didn't originate the anti-American sentiment generated by the Turkish invasion and by the Junta but he rode this wave for his own purposes. So during my tour in Thessaloniki he sounded these themes which he initiated after I left.

Q: I found the Greek proclivity to blame others to be one of the least endearing aspects of the Greeks. Maybe it is the small power attitude.

ZACHARY: Yes, on both counts. I served in Denmark, with half the population of Greece, but they did much less whining. If they didn't agree with us, they would tell us. Of course, the Danes didn't experience 400 years of dissemblance under the Turks, as the Greeks had. The Greeks still have this dependency feeling. In discussing politics with a Greek one often got the impression that the US Ambassador had a button on his desk which he could press and change a government or a minister at will. It made relations very cordial when everything was going well. But at the same time, when the going gets rough, it becomes violent and nasty. The Greeks are coming out of this dependency feeling. Maybe that is a plus for Papandreou; he made Greeks a little prouder by twisting our tail and saying that Greeks don't need us.

But even in 1977, there was frustration that we would allow the Turks to invade. The Greeks reminded us that in 1967 President Lyndon Johnson had sent a strongly worded letter that stopped a prevented a Turkish invasion then. There would be fairly frequent demonstrations from 1977 to 1981. When you get a demonstration passing that little old Consulate in Thessaloniki, on the narrow water-front avenue with people packed in and an occasional person falling into the water, it gets pretty impressive because of the long-line moving ever so slowly. It could take an hour or more for the marchers to pass. You close your shutters and peek out. There were only 40 police out in front and you realize that the demonstrators could break into the building. A Greek crowd can go crazy. It was different from anything I had seen before. I had seen demonstrations in the 1960s when George Papandreou was trying to get into power. But they were never that big or that threatening. This time, the Communists had their contingents. You could see the red of the Communist groups mixed in with the green of Andreas' PASOK.

Yes, in 1977 there had been a change. The mood had changed. I blame it on Cyprus and, in addition, for the more liberal part of the political spectrum, we were the villains because they thought we had propped up the Junta and kept it in power. They believed that we knew about the take-over in 1967, that we engineered it and that we were involved. The CIA apparently didn't have a clue that a coup was coming even though they had some contacts among the conspirators. The colonels were paranoid enough and smart enough not to let anybody in on their coup.

Q: You mentioned before that during your first tour in Thessaloniki in the 1960s, you could report better on ground-swells than the people in the Embassy could, because Athens was always rife with rumor and gossip. I think this is true in Italy and other places as well were there is a tendency to get sucked into the domestic political squabbling so that your vision becomes clouded by the dust surrounding you. Were you seeing anything in Northern Greece that was different than our people in Athens were seeing?

ZACHARY: Yes. We saw the increasing strength of Papandreou. In 1977, there were elections. My political officer, Tom Cooney, as I had seventeen years earlier, called the election correctly. He won the Embassy "pool". Although it was not enough to form a PASOK government, he hit PASOK's totals right on the head; no one else got near it. In 1981, as I was leaving Thessaloniki, my political officer was John Hamilton - a Latin American specialist. He thought the most interesting reporting was on PASOK and its increasing strength and development. He was fascinated by Papandreou's efforts to put a party together. One of the best reports was done by Hamilton on PASOK, its structure, its doctrinaire outlook. PASOK included some very far-left thinkers in the inner circle and planning group. Because of that report, he got to know a lot of the local PASOK people. They were good contacts. I would say that we in Thessaloniki had a good handle on the PASOK ground-swell. Then, it was something like 1963 when the Conservatives - in both cases led by Karamanlis- were waning in popularity. People were ready for another change. In the meantime, people had been radicalized during the Junta period. The high school students were now in their twenties and voting. They were turning Greek politics around. So in the 1977-1981 period, we had another ground-swell that was noticed in Thessaloniki.

Q: Any more comments on Karamanlis?

ZACHARY: Well, during the span of my language training and three tours in Greece, stretching from 1960 until 1981, he was the towering politician. He had been prime minister four times, I believe. His influence extended well beyond my twenty-one year stretch, from the late 1940's until he finished his second term as President of Greece in 1995. He had been picked by the king in 1953 from the middle echelons of the conservative party to form a government. Just as Eisenhower was picked ahead to forty or so senior generals to lead the struggle for Europe.

Karamanlis was a straightforward Macedonian with a regional accent, sort of a down home country boy. He looked and acted the leader and was not afraid to pick able persons to head his ministries. He looked westward and pushed to make Greece part of the stable democracies of Western Europe. Perhaps his greatest contribution was in the aftermath of the "Seven Years" as the Greek euphemistically call the Junta period. He returned from exile in 1974 and headed the provisional government and went on to win the election in 1975. Greece's unprecedented prosperity and stability is due in no small measure to his impact on the political life of the country. He actively endorsed the two-party system and promoted the smooth transition of government from one party to the opposition. His influence continues today in name and spirit and his namesake and nephew Costas Karamanlis is at present prime minister.

Q: Who was the Ambassador in the 1977-81 period?

ZACHARY: Bob McCloskey, who had been Kissinger's spokesman. He came directly from Holland where he had been Ambassador. He had also been chief of mission to Cyprus.

Q: Did you feel any pressure from the Embassy to do things differently or were left pretty much to your own devices?

ZACHARY: We were pretty much left alone. Reporting on PASOK and its gains didn't cause as much consternation as the reporting we did on George Papandreou fifteen years earlier, 1963-64. Then the Embassy officers were restricted. In the 1977-81 period, the Embassy's political reporting was not censored much. There was a different attitude. McCloskey was basically a newspaper man and therefore had strong feelings against censorship. The DCM - Mills first and Kovner later - also did not believe in shading things to please Washington.

Q: What about the desk? Did you have much contact with the Greek Desk in the Department? Did you have any feeling on how they were viewing the situation?

ZACHARY: The Washington people came out periodically to visit or I would go down to Athens when an important visitor came through. One of the important issues was the base agreement, which was the last one, expiring in December 1988. There is still not a new one, in 1989. But we are operating as usual. That was our major concern.

In the Bureau there has always been animosity toward Andreas Papandreou. When his father won in 1963, he told the DCM when he went to the American Embassy that it now had an American (he was still a U.S. citizen) in the Prime Minister's office and the U.S. should take advantage of it. After that, it was all down-hill. Three months later, he declared the PAO persona-non-grata, although we prevented the Greeks from kicking him out by transferring him before they could act. He turned immediately when he became Chief of Staff for his father. He began to play games with us and use his anti-American card. He discovered then how useful it was to do so and how popular it made him, particularly with the left-wing of his father's party. He became the darling of the left with his unpredictable and unfair attacks on us. Over the years, as Andreas appeared and reappeared and even when he was overseas during the Junta years, he was hard to deal with and was bad news. Beginning in 1977, as the possibility of his becoming Prime Minister became greater and greater, he caused considerable uneasiness among American officials because his track record was well known. It was obviously time to leave Greece alone after all the years of U.S. involvement. We let nature take its course in the late 1970s on the assumption that things would be kept together one way or another and that Greece would stay in NATO; it joined the Common Market in June 1978. Karamanlis' greatest dream was to make Greece an integral part of Europe with its adherence to NATO, to the Common Market and to the European Parliament. Our policy therefore became very much one of hands-off even though there were developments that looked somewhat ominous.

Q: Did you find a difference in Embassy attitude because the CIA was not playing the same role as it did before?

ZACHARY: I think the feeling was that times had changed and that CIA no longer had the clout it once had.

Q: In the pre-Papandreou days, were you monitoring the Greek military that was stationed on the border to see whether they might move against the popular government or Turkey?

ZACHARY: We kept an eye on them. We were interested in what they were doing because their attitude about Turkey - that it had to be taught a lesson since it had overrun Cyprus. Turkey was threatening the Greek islands. The principal Greek fear is with the loss of some islands to the Turks more than loss of face on Cyprus. The theory is that if the Turks wished, they could take an island or two that probably could not be repulsed. During this time, when the Greeks were arming the islands in contravention of the Lausanne agreements, I traveled those islands and I would see Greek forces and airfields being built. This is where the Greek Army was deploying at that time in preparation for a Turkish invasion.

The Greeks felt they could do little about Cyprus. It is a problem that won't go away. But the loss on any of the islands is something they could not tolerate and that was something they could do something about. They would fight to the last Greek. They reorganized the Third Army Corps and set up a Fourth Corps in Komotini - about two-thirds of the way to the Turkish border or 60 miles back from the border. The Fourth Army did not face north but wheeled ninety degrees to the east to face the Turkish threat. They redeployed their forces which was somewhat suicidal because it is that very thin neck of land between the Aegean and Bulgaria. The Greeks, however, feared the threat from their NATO partner more than one from Bulgaria.

Q: What were our interests in northern Greece in 1977?

ZACHARY: There was a large American presence in Thessaloniki: American corporations, two American sponsored schools, U.S. military units, a Greek-American community and others. This constituted a sizeable presence in a city of 700,000. Remaining in close touch with these organizations and responding to any issues where the Consulate General could pay a role. And the region shared a border with an ally of the Soviet Union and with Turkey, now considered a serious threat to Greece.

Now, in 2006 and looking back, I should not fail to mention two Americans who have made large contributions to the American image in northern Greece. A person who enjoys almost mythical stature is Bruce Lansdale. He was Director of the American Farm School for decades as he worked to improve Greek agriculture and introduce American values at the village level. I remember the President of Greece, Constantine Tsatsos, speaking at the school in 1980. With tears in his eyes he recalled his childhood in his village. He affirmed that the foundation of Greek character and society was derived from the rural life. Bruce Lansdale, he said with great emotion, was protecting and perpetuating these values. Lansdale is still revered for his work as a leader in Greek farming and social development.

The other American held in high esteem is Bill McGrew, who discovered Greece as a Foreign Service officer. In 1975 he took over Anatolia College, a private high school, which was beset with problems after a series of educators failed. He introduced modern concepts such as computer science, improved English instruction, drama and athletics and led the first mock UN competition in Brussels by a Greek school. And much more. Today he lives in Thessaloniki and in 2005 he was coaxed out of retirement to solve problems at the American Farm School which occurred after Bruce Lansdale retired.

Q: Were there any incidents of particular note during your 1977-81 tour in Thessaloniki?

ZACHARY: Yes, there was an incident where I came close to being a victim of a kamikaze attack. I was not the intended victim but the attacker might have been pleased to knock off the American Consul General as an added dividend. On May 19, 1981, the hundredth anniversary of Mustapha Kemal Ataturk's birth was celebrated. Kemal had been born in Salonika, the son of a Turkish official. His birthplace and family villa has been preserved and is located adjacent to the Turkish Consulate General. For the occasion several events were planned with the participation of a Turkish minister of state, the Turkish ambassador, numerous Greek officials, the consular corps and others.

As the Turkish minister spoke of Kemal's life and accomplishments in the open patio we heard the drone of an aircraft. Looking up we saw a light aircraft circling just above the historic villa. People in nearby apartment buildings were crowding their balconies watching this curious sight. It made several passes before the Greek police arrived and asked us to leave the premises. It so happened that a forty-one year old Greek informed the airfield's control tower that he had nine kilos of explosives and planned to crash the aircraft into the mansion as an act of anti-Turkish defiance. With Greek jets now maneuvering and the attackers family members pleading with him via the Air Force communication system, he agreed to being escorted to a nearby air base.

I am, of course, forever grateful that he lost his cool and followed the example of the last surviving Japanese kamikaze pilot who bore the name 'Chicken Teryaki.'

Q: What other notable events occurred during your tour?

ZACHARY: Well, the city was clobbered with a 6.5 earthquake in June 1978. It took almost 50 lives and did extensive damage and caused major dislocation for months. Just outside of town a sixteen kilometer fissure in the earth's surface was visible.

In early May, six weeks before the major tremor, I was holding a small reception for a dozen or so in honor of Foreign Service inspectors spending a week to inspect the post. The chief inspector was an uptight guy and, as I was later to learn, did not write a very good report on the post. As we were holding the gathering we felt some tremors in my sixth floor apartment. I looked at him and he was the most frightened person in the room. He looked around and bolted for the door. Not exactly Joe Cool.

The big blow struck on June 20 at 11:00 pm. The consular officer, Jim Murray, and I went out and checked the main hotels for Americans in need of help. There were no American victims. We then walked to an apartment building, some 800 or 900 yards from the Consulate, which had collapsed, killing most of the victims of the quake. The worse part of the experience was that tremors began in early May until September, about five months. The most unnerving one for me was on July 5 at midnight and I got into my car and slept near the waterfront that night. Every wall in every room on all six floors showed damage. You could see daylight through one or two such cracks. The engineers assured us that no structural damage had taken place so it was business as usual after two days and we returned to our apartments above the consulate. The repairs however lasted about eight months.

Thessalonians refused to return to their apartments during July and August. Army tents cropped up everywhere and we rechristened the town "Tent-tal-o-niki." They would not return to rescue or even feed their pets so some foreign women led by the wife of the British consul came to the rescue. "Old Salonika," was destroyed. Those were the three to four story yellowish, Mediterranean-style villas of the merchants and official structures, many from the 19th century. They were all in ruins and had to be torn down.

Q: Never having lived through an earthquake that was interesting. Were there any other noteworthy events during you tour as Consul General?

ZACHARY: Yes. The discovery of the tomb of Alexander the Great's father, Philip II, at Vergina (Aigai) near Mount Olympus. The entire country and the archeological world were fascinated by the news. Philip also enjoyed a brilliant military career when he united Greece in 338 BC after hundreds of years of squabbling and warfare by the city states such as Athens and Sparta. Not all archeologists are ready to accept the discovery as that of Philip's tomb but a good case can be made that it was indeed his. The two gold larnacas indicating royal lineage contained the remains of a man and a woman, possibly Alexander's mother, Olympia. The tomb contains a large fresco of a hunt scene with the figure of a young blonde man who bears a resemblance to Alexander. The exhibit of the find opened in Thessaloniki and Time/Life was one of the sponsors. So it drew a host of dignitaries and much publicity.

Q: Did the question of the Greekness of Macedonia re-appear as a result of this discovery?

ZACHARY: Naturally and it remains a sensitive issue. Professor Andronicos, who carried out the excavations, argues that the Macedonian royal line originated in the Peloponnesus in Argos and moved to Vergina where the royal tombs were found. The Macedonian leaders were Greek speakers. Aristotle was born not far from Thessaloniki, at Stagirus halfway to the Turkish border. He was Alexander's tutor at the court which had moved to Pella near Thessaloniki. The issue has become an emotional one again since the breakup of Yugoslavia. This is the case because the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia insisted on using the name for the new republic. This causes some confusion since Greece's northern province goes by the same name. The Greeks could live with a designation such as "Republic of Northern Macedonia" but the leaders in Skopje will have none of it. Greece has no territorial interest in that area. But as a small nation with a long and glorious history, the issue for the Greeks is that stealing the name "Macedonia" robs them of their pride and their past. So they still refer to the new country to their north as the "Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia" or "FYROM."

Regarding Yugoslavia there were no serious issues until the breakup of that country. The Greeks harbor considerable empathy for the Serbs. They are co-religionists and were allies during the Balkan wars, World Wars I and II and both share longstanding hostility toward their Islamic neighbors, i.e., Albania, Bosnia, Kosovo and Turkey. During the violence in Bosnia and Kosovo Greek sympathies were entirely for the Serbs and the nightly TV at those times showed Greek military C-130's taking relief assistance to the Serbs.

Q: What was the Greek attitude during your tour toward Greeks of Slavic origin?

ZACHARY: The Greeks have trouble with the issue of their Slavic citizens, or Slavophones as they are referred to. There were large areas of Slav speakers and many joined the Communist guerrilla forces in the Greek civil war. Serbo-Croatian language officers from Embassy Belgrade would report that they could speak the language to clerks and others in Thessaloniki. This group has no protection under international law such as the Turkish population in Greek Thrace. When a Greek scholar, Anastasia Karakasidou, produced a study (Fields of Wheat, Rivers of Blood) showing the discrimination against this group, she was vehemently criticized by Greek scholars and officials alike. The issue is muted by the dynamic nature of the Greek economy and the fact that these Slavophones learn Greek well, are also Orthodox Christians and find employment opportunities in commerce or agriculture or even professional-level careers in the cities.

Q: What about the Bulgarians?

ZACHARY: There was of course a long and bitter rivalry beginning with the Macedonian struggle in the 19th and early 20th centuries. The two countries were also adversaries in one Balkan war and in World Wars I and II. What surprised me on returning to northern Greece in 1977 was the change in attitude toward the Bulgarians. During my first tour in 1962-1965 the Bulgarians were the most feared - and despised- neighbor. A Cold War attack on Greece, if one occurred, would come from Bulgaria. Protecting that border was the main concern of Greek and NATO forces. Equally important was the memory of the recent occupation of parts of northern Greece by the Bulgarians, allies of the Nazis. They occupied Greek Thrace and eastern Macedonia. They also wished to occupy Thessaloniki but the Germans refused to grant them their wish. During the Bulgarian occupation atrocities were committed especially reprisals in the city of Drama where many Greeks were executed and where many fled the Bulgarians for the German-controlled areas.

By 1977 contacts with Bulgaria for trade and tourism were common and antipathy toward that nation had become a minor issue. Perhaps more importantly, Greece's NATO ally, Turkey, had become the bad guy. This was incited by the 1974 invasion of Cyprus but also Turkish claims in the Aegean, frequent military overflight violations of Greek airspace, Turkish research vessels in disputed areas, and threats against the offshore Greek islands. I guess you can't hate all your neighbors all the time. And because of its size and power Turkey was a much more serious threat to Greek interests than Bulgaria.

Q: What role did the historic Jewish community play during your two tours in Thessaloniki?

ZACHARY: That community which played such a vital role for almost 500 years was decimated during World War II. Before the Nazi holocaust these Sephardic Jews, driven out of Spain by Ferdinand and Isabella, were the largest ethnic group when the Greeks seized control of the city in 1912. The Ottoman sultans accepted these refugees and they became active citizens in other parts of the empire as well but it was in Thessaloniki that they had their greatest impact. Estimated at more than 50,000 Hitler all but eliminated it in his effort to commit genocide of the Jews throughout Europe. During my time that community was estimated to be about 1500 strong. Some of the leading merchants were from that community, such at the Molho family, which ran the best foreign language book store in town. But interest in the community's former importance is considerable and scholars visitors and journalist continue to keep its past role alive. In the last forty years strenuous efforts are underway to preserve the memory of the community which disappeared so tragically. A valuable recent book on the city and the Sephardic community is Mark Mazower's Salonica, City of Ghosts : Christians, Muslims and Jews, 1430-1950, published in 2005.

About a week after Kennedy's assassination in November 1963 Consul General Folsom and I were invited to their community center to pay respects to the dead president. With only men in attendance and wearing their yarmulkes, several speeches were made in their Spanish sounding language, Ladino, and we were served a sweet liquor. Their respect for the American president and their sadness over the tragedy was a moving experience.

Q: Is there anything else about your tours in Thessaloniki you car to mention?

ZACHARY: The consular district includes Mount Athos, the holy peninsula some 80 miles southeast of the city. It is truly unique, at least in the Christian world: some twenty monasteries plus satellite hermitages on a long, forested peninsula. It provides an insight into the role of religion in Greek life. When I made three or four visits there in 1977-1981 a revival of the life was underway and the monasteries were attracting younger, educated Greeks to the monastic life. There are Bulgarian, Serbian and Russian monasteries of longstanding as well and add to the richness of the orthodox traditions there. The Russian monastery, by the way, grew to three thousand or so monks after the revolution of 1917, but when I went there with Ambassador Labouisse in 1965 there were only four elderly monks left! Since the Patriarchate in Istanbul is restricted by the Turkish Government the 'Holy Mount' provides a place for development of the orthodox tradition.

Q: Did I miss any other points about your time in Thessaloniki?

ZACHARY: I can't think of any at the moment.

Q: Does the Department now use your expertise at all?

ZACHARY: Yes. I keep in touch with the desk. One of the most interesting things I have done since I retired was when I acted as the full-time Greek-Cyprus expert for the Bureau of Intelligence and Research (INR) for three months and then another four months part time. I would write articles each week for INR publications. This was in 1987. They paid me to read the traffic from Athens, Nicosia and Thessaloniki. That was great fun. I got involved in the "near war" with Turkey in March, 1987. At that time, the Greeks carried out a partial mobilization and moved their forces forward because they had announced that they would explore in the Aegean Sea near Thassos which is a considerable distance from the Turkish coast, in the Greek half of the Aegean. Nevertheless, the Turks announced they intended to prevent it by sending out destroyers. Everyone went on alert. There was a big flap and I wrote the items for INR as the situation developed. So I got involved in the crisis.

Q: How did that one play out?

ZACHARY: A few months later, Papandreou met Turgut Ozal, the Turkish Prime Minister, in Davos, Switzerland and they created the "Spirit of Davos" which in essence does not amount to much. They both agreed that something had to be done about the situation and the problems had to be resolved. I think Ozal has been more forthcoming. Papandreou has played games - he was the great "war-monger" in 1987. In 1988, he began to become the great "peace-maker" and made some gestures to the Turks. There has been some improvement in Greek-Turkish relations in the commercial and cultural areas. The Mayor of Istanbul went to Athens and parliamentary deputies have had exchanges. Because of that, Denktash, the leader of the Turkish Cypriots and Vassiliou, who is the President of Cyprus, have had some meetings. Since the near confrontation in the Aegean in March 1987, there has been some improvement in relations and I think the rhetoric has calmed down a little bit as well. All of that is an example of a situation in which my Greek experience has been used since my retirement.

Q: You retired in 1982. In looking over your career, what gave you the greatest satisfaction?

ZACHARY: Becoming a specialist in Greece - learning about the people, the politics, the language, the history and serving there for three tours. That was by far the most satisfying thing that I have done. I had a strong desire to become an area specialist.

Q: If a young person comes to you to seek advice about a career in the Foreign Service today, what is your response?

ZACHARY: I would encourage him or her to go for it. I found it exciting. But perhaps it's not as exciting as when I joined. Telephone service was often poor or non-existent, there was no email or secure lines for immediate communication. When I joined one normally took a ship to his post, that's how long ago it was. When I joined there were only propeller-driven commercial aircraft, no jets. Yes, the world did not move at today's pace.

Perhaps that inevitably means some reduction in the importance in Embassies. Nevertheless, if you have a taste for foreign cultures and languages, for a job that requires both reflection and action, for jobs that are challenging - and the Foreign Service has those. You have to fight for the good jobs sometimes. And if one is attracted to a variety of assignment possibilities - consular, administrative, economic, political, then the individual should give it a serious try. If you are going to work for the Government, then the Foreign Service is the best place to be. No one will make a million dollars. Several people have told me after leaving the Service that, while they made good money in the business world, it wasn't as satisfying as being in the Foreign Service.

Q: What have you done since you retired?

ZACHARY: I retired in the summer of 1982, exactly thirty years after joining the Foreign Service. I had already decided to retire in the DC area. Over the previous 32 years it had become my home base and home town - Chicago could no longer make that claim on me. I had no particular desire to live in the heartland or the West Coast. Living in Europe, say Greece or France, was a consideration, but I knew more people by far in this area and my daughter and son and other relatives were nearby.

Q: Did the Department use your expertise at all?

ZACHARY: Yes. In addition to a solid network of friends and family, employment possibilities appeared better here than elsewhere. With a Foreign Service friend we explored job possibilities in the private sector. The Department assisted in this endeavor with a program to prepare a resume and provide assistance in a job search. I became, at least in name, an international consultant. A successful Greek businessman I knew visited here with an eye toward setting up an export/import business. Nothing came of this or an attempt with a friend to import Slovenian wines and other products. Rather than the private sector my future lay with work in the Department and Washington's famous "Beltway Bandits" who perform contract work for the government.

Q: What job opportunities opened up?

ZACHARY: One of the first was work with the Department's Board of Examiners. Before retiring I had a short stint in BEX and already had experience mostly in giving junior officer exams but also exams for minority programs, reinstatement and other specialized exams.

While in BEX I worked with the Director in exploring the anemic intake of female and minority applicants. We traveled to Princeton to consult with the Educational Testing Service, an impressive organization. ETS had been running our exams for years and had a complete record of examination results by gender and by race for some years of every question used. They provided suggestions on how to improve the scores for the groups in question. A little bit of trickery but the Carter Administration was adamant about making a further assault on the Foreign Services old boys' club.

BEX needs additional officers during its busy season for the oral part of the examination which was in the spring after the written exam results were processed. I, along with other retired officers, was hired to deal with the crunch. It meant steady work for several months and required travel to Chicago, Dallas, Boston, Seattle, as well as testing in Washington. It was not like the old days when all applicants had to pay their own way here.

One question I particularly liked to ask candidates was on the immigration issue. At the time, the 1980's, there were three million illegals, mostly Hispanic, in the country and the administration and Congress were working on immigration reform. The question had many aspects and provided an excellent test of an applicant's ability to deal with a complex issue. This comes to mind at this time, a quarter century later, as we continue to wrestle with the problem and with an estimated twelve million illegals now in the country.

Another question I often asked was tell the candidate that he was the vice consul in an Islamic Muslim country with strict rules regarding female behavior. In the scenario the United States enjoys cordial relations with the government, unlike our relations with that country's neighbors. An American woman comes to the consulate furtively and declares she is basically under house arrest and is treated like a servant. Her husband has taken her passport and that of her two-year old son. She is desperate to escape with her infant child and begs the vice consul for help. What would you do? Most candidates struggled with the question but a few handled it well.

In the 1980's the Department's Office of Diplomatic Security was authorized, as international security threats mounted, a huge expansion of the DS officer corps to improve security at our missions abroad. Panels were formed with both FSO's and DS security personnel. We selected individuals with a good background in security who also possessed an awareness and interest in international affairs and who would be comfortable working in an overseas environment.

Q: What other jobs came your way?

ZACHARY: I also had two sessions in an abandoned Virginia coal mine as part of an exercise involving the unthinkable - a nuclear holocaust. This involved four or five days interred underground as part of a rump State Department carrying out its duties of foreign policy management. Other agencies were also part of the exercise. In one such drill the newly minted president of the USA was a controversial Secretary of the Interior, James G. Watts. In the scenario he is the only surviving member of the government establishment, a situation that amused those of us who enjoyed the many articles criticizing him for pushing offshore drilling, for exploitation of national federal park lands and for not adding one species to the endangered species list.

Q: Does the Department use your Greek expertise at all?

ZACHARY: Yes, I keep in touch with the desk. One of the most interesting jobs I have done since I retired was that of Greek desk officer for the Bureau of Intelligence and Research (INR).

This lasted for three months and another four months part time. I would write articles each week for INR publications. They paid me to read the traffic from Athens, Nicosia and Thessaloniki. Great job. At that time, 1987, the Greek socialist prime minister, Andreas Papandreou, was twisting the lion's tail, threatening to close US bases and leave NATO and the European Community. I was involved in the crisis with Turkey in March 1987. The Greeks wanted to develop a petroleum field near the island of Thassos. Although it was in the Greek half of the Aegean the Turks refused to go along. About the same time the Turks sent a geological research vessel, the Sismik, into disputed waters. The Greeks carried out a partial mobilization and moved their forces forward. We provided in-depth analysis for the EUR Greek Desk and the seventh floor. I participated in regular meetings chaired by EUR. It was almost like being back in the Foreign Service.

Q: How did that play out?

ZACHARY: Things calmed down and, a few months later', Papandreou met Turgut Ozal, the Turkish Prime Minister, in Davos, Switzerland, and they created "The Spirit of Davos." They both agreed that there must a cooling down of the situation. After that there was improvement in Greek-Turkish relations in the political, commercial and cultural areas. The mayor of Istanbul visited Athens and parliamentary deputies exchanged visits, that sort of thing. This gives you some idea how my Greek experience has been used since retirement.

Q: Anything else?

ZACHARY: Other assignments presented themselves as a result of my specialization in Greek affairs. Working for a contractor, Booz Allen Hamilton, I prepared scenarios for a terrorist attack on the embassies in Athens and Nicosia. The idea was to keep the Embassy staffs on the alert for such an unlikely event and to foil it. The team would then travel to the posts and conduct a two-day exercise.

I briefed the Greek language classes about my experiences living in Greece. I also gave briefings to the Greek and Turkish language classes covering the Greek political and economic history from 1950 to the present.

I also worked as a Greek language interpreter. I accompanied Greek members of Parliament on leader grants and escorted two Greek DEA officials to DEA sites n El Paso and elsewhere. For two weeks I worked with US experts in firearm training and hostage negotiations with a twenty-man Greek Cypriot SWAT group. One duty was to stand on a passage way seventy feet above ground at the then Washington Bullets Stadium and interpret commands to trainees while they rappelled to the ground. And I never really enjoyed heights.

Q: I believe you participated in exercises run by the military.

ZACHARY: Another military exercise involving Greece, in 2000, was a war game at the US base near Ramstein, Germany, Coming soon after resolution of the Kosovo crisis in 1998-99 it involved another Balkan event. A Greek expert was needed for that especially since the Greeks are historic allies of the Serbs in Balkan inter mural squabbles. It meant fourteen uninterrupted days of crisis actions that kept us locked in the game room for many hours. General Wesley Clark, the hero of the Kosovo War, participated and was often in our area conversing with the FSO's.

Thanks to one event I got to be an ambassador, albeit a fictitious one. I played the role of one in a military exercise "Solid Shield." It was the largest annual military exercise in the eastern US, one that involved 90,000 troops. The exercise included an embassy component. With three other FSO's we fed problems into the game and reacted to the developing situation. My job involved flying in a helicopter some distances to a command ship at sea and other locations. Riding in a six-passenger helicopter without doors was something I would not want to do again.

Q: Did you also have other escort gigs in retirement?

ZACHARY: Yes. As a Greek language interpreter I was on the basic list for general escort duty. One of the most enjoyable assignments was a month-long trip with theater groups - actors, stage directors and producers to study the American theater scene. On two occasions I escorted participants from Romania, Mexico, Israel, Palestine, the Philippines and other countries to places such as San Francisco, Chicago, Minneapolis and to the festival of new American plays in Louisville. We finished these interesting trips with a week on and off Broadway.

I was also an escort for another USIA office, the Arts America program. It offered artistic presentations from the US. I was the escort for a Nashville country music group, Buck White. Most of the young musicians had little or no overseas experience. The trip was well received everywhere, Bangladesh, Oman, Qatar, Tunisia and Morocco. The audiences were familiar with country music, probably from American films. Another was the Randy Brecker group, a jazz ensemble. We traveled to Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Bulgaria and Istanbul. Most of the tour was in the Soviet Bloc countries and I was surprised by how up to date many of the listeners were with the American jazz scene. I also felt such music behind the Iron Curtain had been a disturbing influence on the Communist system.

Q: You also worked, I believe, in the Department's Freedom of Information Office.

Z ACHARY: Yes. It was called "The Long Gray Line" because that office employed large numbers of retired, gray haired officers. The outfit I spent most time with working for was the Department's Office of Declassification, then the Office of Document Review, or CDR. Acting upon requests from news organizations, scholars and others we reviewed the relevant classified documents for release. The number of requests was enormous and there was always a backlog. We were particularly sensitive to the release of material that might embarrass another government, information that was provided in confidence and whose release "Would have a chilling effect on relations." That was the overworked phrase we used. We were also alert to protecting the privacy of individuals as well as release of documents that might inhibit policy formation by releasing drafts of controversial policy recommendations.

I reviewed a request for Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's telephone conversations, known as the Eagleburger tapes, after Larry Eagleburger, Kissinger's deputy. I was impressed by the cordial, informal relations maintained by Kissinger with the Soviet Ambassador, Anatoly Dobrynin. He displayed his outrageous sense of humor with Dobrynin and in other transcripts. In one instance Kissinger was annoyed by the Israeli Prime Minister for refusing to accept a demarcation line between Israeli and Egyptian forces in the Sinai. He spoke to the Israeli ambassador and told him that if the prime minister did not cooperate that he would direct the CIA to spread the rumor that the prime minister was not really a Jew!

Q: Anything further?

ZACHARY: Another project was to review all documents after 25 years, as required by law. This involved a huge number of documents already located in the National Archives. And then there were special reviews such as the possible compromise of security. One special task force reviewed documents from Embassy Moscow during a period when the Embassy Marine guards allowed Russian women into the Embassy's inner sanctum. Then there was a spy case involving a Greek-American code clerk at Embassy Athens who was providing documents to Greek intelligence. The individual received twelve years when the case came to trial.

I also contributed to the Greek and Cyprus sections of FRUS, "The Foreign Relations of the United States" series, which dates back to the 19th century. It contained a record of the important traffic between a mission and Washington and provided a valuable record of our foreign policy decisions. The FRUS was prepared in the Historian's Office and reviewed in a separate section of the declassification office. There we had many problems with the CIA which had a knee jerk reaction against the release of classified traffic. Even though this was 25-year old material CIA often used of its favorite dodge, "sources and methods." That often seemed pretty lame. It struck me that sources and methods a quarter of a century old were pretty well known to our adversary, the USSR for example, and the only ones in the dark about the goings on was the American public. CIA became the agency that gave me the most gas pains with their smoke screens plus their seemingly endless amount of resources. With CIA's huge staffs and diplomatic passports, the State's Foreign Service staffs often came across as poor country cousins.

Q: You retired in 1982. In looking over your career, what gave you the greatest satisfaction?

ZACHARY: Becoming a specialist in Greek affairs - learning about the people, the politics, the language and serving there for three tours. That was by far the most satisfying work I have done.

Q: Looking back what are your thoughts about your career?

ZACHARY: Now, many years after retirement I wonder what I accomplished or what good did I do? I am amused by those who look back all puffed up about important they were or how badly they were treated.

But then I remember that I was an FSO during the height of the Cold War, 1952-82 and on the front line in places like Greece, Germany and the Congo. By exhibiting a strong, effective presence around the world we made a powerful statement about our intention to remain world leaders. As Woody Allen famously said, eighty percent of life is just showing up. I recently reread John Kennedy's piece on John Quincy Adams in "Profiles of Courage." He held the most difficult post in the new country's service in London at the conclusion of the Revolutionary War. He had been a senator, president of the country and has been the only former president to later serve in Congress. He had been a professor at Harvard and he had won the Amistad case involving slaves who took over a slave ship and escaped to a northern port. Amazingly, after all these achievements he wrote "Two thirds of a long life have passed and I have done nothing to distinguish it by usefulness to my country and to mankind..." Later he wrote "I can scarcely recollect a single instance of success in any thing I ever undertook." So if John Quincy Adams can have doubts about what he accomplished through his impressive life I feel a little better about my own self doubts.

End of interview - Completed in 1989 and revised in 2006, 2007 and 2010.